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FBIS-EEU-90-208 *26 October 1990*

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Balkan Foreign Ministers' Meeting Continues

Ministers Send Message to CSCE

AU2510152390 Tirana ATA in English 1340 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Message from the meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan states to the Paris meeting of heads of state or government of the states participating in the CSCE on 19-21 November 1990]

[Text] Tirana, October 25 (ATA)—The ministers of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the People's Republic of Bulgaria,the Hellenic Republic, Romania, the Republic of Turkey, and the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia convened in Tirana, on 24-25 October 1990, addressed this message to the meeting of the heads of state or government of the states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to be held in Paris. They wish to underline the historic importance of the CSCE for a secure and peaceful future and prosperity of European countries and peoples and bring to the knowledge of the participants in the Paris summit the achievements of the Balkans regional cooperation as an integral part of the CSCE process and its objectives for the future.

Welcoming the positive changes in Europe, the Balkan countries view the Paris summit as a significant stage in the CSCE process towards its institutionalization. They emphasized the need of development of the rule of law, pluralistic democracy, democratic institutions and market economy. Measures aimed at overcoming the differences in the level of economic development and resolving economic difficulties of the Balkan countries would also be conducive to greater political stability in Europe.

Intensive regional cooperation in the Balkans following the historic meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan countries, Belgrade 1988, reflects the determination of all the Balkan countries to improve their multilateral and bilateral cooperation in a variety of fields of mutual concern, surmounting the differences and disputes among them through a stable development of comprehensive cooperation, strengthening of mutual understanding and confidence building. At the Tirana meeting they agreed on a number of further steps to be taken in that direction. In view of the expansion of confidence and security-building measures in Europe, they highlighted the need to continue to consider confidence and security-building measures among the Balkan countries as a way to contribute to the further consolidation of security and stability in Europe. In the development of their mutual cooperation, the Balkan countries are guided by the general principles of the Charter of the United Nations, as well as by the principles, goals and achievements of the CSCE process. They are convinced that this cooperation helps strengthen stability and peace in the region and in Europe. Thereby, they are making a concrete contribution to the promotion of the CSCE process and to the establishment of a new order and cooperation in the continent.

The ministers welcomed the request of Albania for full participation in the CSCE and expressed their wish to see it realized.

Proceeding from the paramount importance of making progress and establishing cooperation in the humanitarian field, the Balkan countries emphasize their commitment to the protection and promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms in every respect. They attach particular importance to the rights of persons belonging to national minorities, as referred to in the Helsinki Final Act and the corresponding CSCE documents, as a factor of cohesion, stability, friendship and good neighbourliness, in accordance with the principles and norms of international law.

The growing interdependence of countries and of the inter- relatedness of problems characterizing the world today more than ever, and especially the relations in our continent, make the objectives of the Balkan cooperation a single, Balkan and all- European, interest in which every Balkan country, individually and all of them together, see their highest national interest.

UN, Soviet, Other Messages to Meeting

AU2510152590 Tirana ATA in English 1024 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Tirana, October 25 (ATA)—Numerous personalities from various countries of the world have addressed messages of greetings to the meeting of the ministers for foreign affairs of the Balkan states.

The message of the UN secretary general, Perez de Cuellar, expresses the satisfaction and warm greetings addressed to the foreign ministers of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, Turkey and Yugoslavia in their meeting in Tirana. The dramatic events in your region, the message stresses, during the years following your first meeting in 1988 have proved clearly the farsightedness and value of this important initiative. The history of these years has made ever more clear the imperative character and importance of the truth that doing away with misunderstandings and finding right and peaceful solutions regarding specific problems might and should be achieved through understanding as far as the changes in social systems, the historical background and relations among your countries are concerned. In your efforts to find such solutions, fortunately, you will rely the common will for collective action among the countries, so powerfully manifested on local, regional, and global level.

The results of your consultations will be very important and to the benefit of the United Nations. The hitherto developments offer a major promise to profit more from the broad scale contribution to the political and economic progress of Europe, peace and prosperity of world community and that your nations have ensured from the

great heritage, the geographical position and the vast international ties. I wish you full success at your work.

The message of the president of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Zhelyu Zhelev, says that the dynamic deeper changes going on in the world today, step up dialogue among our countries. Nevertheless they are a challenge to our ability in keeping [word indistinct] the spirit of the time, to render our necessary contribution to the CSCE process and our support to the current norms of international dialogue.

I am fully confident, the message of the president of the Republic of Turkey, Turgut Ozal, that the meeting of Tirana will give an impulse to the process of multilateral cooperation in the Balkans, which will make its contribution to peace, prosperity and promotion of mutual understanding between the nations of the region.

The current meeting is held at a time when Europe is witnessing profound transformations of historic importance. The political climate in Europe is leading to the establishment of an efficient regional cooperation in the Balkan peninsula. I am confident that a varied and all-round cooperation in our region will strengthen the process of inter-European integration.

The message of the Soviet foreign minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, underscores that the Soviet Union, closely linked with the Balkan peoples with ancient traditions of good neighbourliness, pursues with sympathy the efforts of the countries of the peninsula to strengthen stability and mutual understanding in the region. We, the message says, greet and endorse the desire of our neighbours of the south, in the path of efforts for the creation of the peaceful, secure Europe with a (?united) economic, juridical, humanitarian and cultural space. The step by step consolidation of the atmosphere of confidence and partnership in the Balkans creates favourable premises for the gradual freeing of the peninsula from the weapons of all kinds, the settlement of problems inherited from the past and arisen as a result of the to date challenges, the putting of the whole material and intellectual potential for creative goals, the solution of national and inter-regional tasks.

It is something very nice that the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries will meet in Tirana on October 24-25, the message of the charity missionary, Mother Teresa says. I am praying for each of you to have the courage and joy to work together in peace and unity and that your meeting be very fruitful.

We are deeply convinced, the message of the Bulgarian Committee for Cooperation and Understanding says, that guided by the lofty joint interests of the Balkan states and peoples, as well as by the preoccupation for their fruitful progress, your ideas and activity will make the meeting an event of stable importance for the consolidation of the relations of good neighbourliness and peaceful coexistence in the Balkans.

The whole Bulgarian democratic public opinion will back up the Albanian initiative to sign a statement on the relations of good neighbourliness among the Balkan states.

Romania's Nastase Suggests 'New Partnership'

AU2510205690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1848 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/10/1990—The aim of the meeting is to set up a new partnership in the Balkans, said Romania's Minister of Foreign Affairs Adrian Nastase in his address to the second Balkan ministerial conference in Tirana.

A Balkan meeting similar to the CSCE meeting in Bonn, starting from the principles in the Final Document of that meeting, would be in our opinion both necessary and urgent to pass to a revaluation of the ensemble of the economic ties among our countries, Mr. Adrian Nastase said.

To this end, he went on, we have presented concrete proposals for the development of Balkan cooperation in informatics and telecommunications, for the setting up of a data bank in agriculture and of a medical research and studies institute, for the better use of mountainous areas resources, of small and medium-sized enterprises. We should also like to submit to your attention the idea of exploring the possibilities and modalities to establish a free exchange region among Balkan countries.

Our countries' governments could encourage the creation of a Balkan touristic network which should make better use of the region's touristic potential.

We welcome the disponibility [word as received] of the UN Economic Commission for Europe to support the elaboration and application of concrete projects and programmes in our region.

A positive measure would be, for instance, the setting up of a system of inter-Balkan political consultations at various levels. To that end attention should be paid to establishing direct phone links among our foreign ministries for rapid communications when necessary.

Attention should also be paid to setting up a mechanism to avoid distorted perceptions in the military domain.

We consider it useful to agree upon a system of procedures for the preventing and settlement of all tensions and conflicts among the states in the region. Such a system would include a large variety of means among which direct consultations and negotiations, good offices, mediation and reconciliation.

Human contacts which are a factor that builds up the mutual confidence could be considerably facilitated by simpler visas formalities or even their complete elimination. Therefore we suggest that this issue be discussed with priority.

As far as human dimension is concerned, the common values of democracy and political pluralism sanctioned by the Copenhagen meeting Final Document, which Balkan countries also adhered to, offer a solid basis of cooperation among these countries for the full observance of human rights, for a rapid and equitable settlement of humanitarian problems and for the free circulation of information.

We are of the opinion that it would be in the general interest, both of the Balkan states and of the effective protection of specific rights of national and ethnical minorities, that a code be elaborated for the collaboration of Balkan states in those problems concerning national and ethnical minorities. That code would comprise an ensemble of norms and principles for the states' conduct in elaborating solutions to these problems. An efficient interstate collaboration in the field could be supported by the setting up of a Balkan institute for research and documentation in the national and ethnical minorities' questions. To this end we intend to draw your attention to the idea of calling up a meeting of our countries' experts to examine the possible content of that code as well as the feasibility of that institute.

The staged advance on all these planes would be facilitated by certain forms of institutionalizing cooperation in the region making up a Balkan forum. We are referring, of course, to a certain periodicity of the meetings at various levels of the Balkan states' decision-makers.

As far as the foreign ministers' meetings are concerned, we welcome our countries' disponibility to organise meetings at shorter intervals, once in a year.

We see with satisfaction that there are similar opinions in favour of organising a first meeting of the heads of state or government of our countries. Romania would be honoured to host such a meeting, the Romanian dignitary said inter alia.

SFRY's Loncar on Conference Contribution

AU2510212690 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Dragan Petrovic report from Tirana]

[Excerpt] The Balkan conference, which ended today in Tirana, adopted a joint message for the CSCE summit, which is to be held in Paris next month. Our special reporter, Dragan Petrovic is in Tirana:

[Begin Petrovic recording] In the assessment of Budimir Loncar, our federal secretary, the meeting in Tirana has contributed to the speeding up and further development of all the initiatives which were begun in Belgrade. According to Budimir Loncar, the Belgrade meeting was held at a more difficult time than this one in Tirana, considering the well-known changes that have meanwhile taken place in Europe.

The federal secretary told us that it is a happy circumstance that the meeting in Tirana has been held directly prior to the CSCE summit in Paris, because the unanimous and resolute desire was expressed at the meeting of the Balkan countries for the Balkans to join positive European trends.

Not only in the assessment of Loncar but also of all the participants, the new quality is that, regardless of some disputes, the necessary prerequisites have today been created in the Balkans for bilateral relations to develop in a more appropriate atmosphere and also for the expectation that some contentious problems will begin to be resolved.

As had been expected, as regards security in the Balkans, much attention was paid to the role of ethnic minorities. In connection with this sensitive issue—as assessed in the circles around our delegation—a new formulation has been found which is satisfactory to everyone. For example, unlike at the Belgrade meeting, this formulation no longer includes the phrase: minorities in the countries where they exist. This has now been deleted and it is thought that this solves many problems. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Loncar Meets Albania's Malile; To Meet Alia

LD2510215290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1931 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Tirana, October 25 (TANJUG)—There are serious problems between Yugoslavia and Albania, but an even greater interest to discuss them openly, Foreign Ministers Budimir Loncar of Yugoslavia and Reis Malile of Albania agreed here today.

Loncar is in Tirana as head of the Yugoslav delegation to the second meeting of Balkan foreign ministers which ended here today.

The Loncar-Malile talks were an introduction to tomorrow's talks between the Yugoslav foreign minister and Albanian head of state Ramiz Alia. It is expected that concrete matters of economic cooperation between the two neighboring countries will be on the agenda during this meeting, which is held at Albania's request.

During the ministerial meeting, the Yugoslav foreign minister met with his counterparts from Greece, Bulgaria, Turkey and Romania. In all these contacts, as learned, readiness was expressed to intensify the political dialogue in the Balkans and further to promote bilateral cooperation, in order to tackle the open and controversial questions in a more favorable climate.

Ministers' Meeting Ends

AU2510152190 Tirana ATA in English 1330 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Tirana, October 25 (ATA)—The meeting of ministers for foreign affairs of the Balkan states, which started on October 24, ended its proceedings in Tirana on October 25. In the final sitting the participants

discussed on the proposals and recommendations submitted for drafting the joint communique.

Among others the ministers agreed that the meetings of the ministers for foreign affairs of the Balkan states be held every year. The next meeting will be held in Sofia in the fall of 1991.

Attending the closing sitting were also Foto Cami, chairman of the Foreign Permanent Commission of the People's Assembly; Pali Miska, vice-chairman of the council of ministers; Farudin Hoxha, minister under the Presidency of the Council of Ministers; Besnik Bekteshi, minister of industry, mining and energy; Hajredin Celiku, minister of transports; Prof. Dr. Skender Gjinushi, minister of education; Pajtim Ajazi, minister of home trade; Prof. Alfred Uci, chairman of the Committee of Culture and Arts; Llambi Gegprifti, chairman of the Executive Committee of Tirana District People's Council; Prof. Sofokli Lazri, director of International Relations Study Institute; Prof. Dhimiter Shuteriqi, chairman of the Albanian Committee for Balkan Understanding and Cooperation.

After being read, they unanimously endorsed the joint communique of the meeting of the ministers for foreign affairs of the Balkan states as well as the message sent by this meeting to the Paris meeting of the heads of states and governments that will attend the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe on November 19-21 this year.

Then the floor was taken by Ahmet Kurtcebe Alptemocin, minister for foreign affairs of Turkey; Lyuben Gotsev, minister for foreign affairs of Bulgaria; Adrian Nastase, minister for foreign affairs of Romania; Andonios Samaras, minister for foreign affairs of Greece and Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs of Yugoslavia. They thanked for the hospitality and good organization of the meeting and pointed to its constructive spirit, that will have its impact to the promotion of cooperation and understanding in the Balkans and the commitment of the countries of our region in the European processes.

Reis Malile, minister for foreign affairs of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania made the closing speech. After thanking the delegations for the friendly spirit of cooperation, the valuable contribution he said among the other things:

The entire content of our meeting testifies to the necessity of intensifying the political dialogue as the principal means to overcome the difficulties and solve the problems, thus carrying forward the understanding and cooperation, peace and security in our region.

We shared the view that the positive European processes of CSCE, which are leading to the establishment of new concepts and structures of security and cooperation, are accelerating factors for the Balkan process, too, that is identifying itself with the contemporary trends on our continent.

The joint communique we just adopted, which aims at raising Balkan cooperation to new, higher qualitative levels, constitutes an important document for it.

Confidence in the future of Balkan cooperation process is a testimony to our resolution to carry it forward, associated with the necessary realism in order to overcome with the good will the difficulties of the past and the problems arising in the course of time.

In conclusion of this meeting, we feel more convinced and determined on the correct alternative we have chosen, to make the Balkan process an irreversible long-term orientation.

At this the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan states wound up its proceedings.

Writer Kadare Seeks Asylum in France

AU2510122490 Paris AFP in English 1204 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Paris, Oct 25 (AFP)—Ismail Kadare, considered the greatest living Albanian writer, has asked for political asylum in France after his appeals for democratisation in his communist homeland went unheeded, his French publisher said Thursday. The 54-year-old writer on Tuesday, in a surprise move, sent a letter to the hardline communist Albanian leader, Ramiz Alia, to explain his decision, he told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE.

"Until today I have tried to contribute to soften the regime through the means authorised in Albania," he said. "During my meetings and in an exchange of letters with the president since last spring I expressed very clearly the imperious necessity for a very rapid, deep and total democratisation of the country."

"As there is no possibility for legal opposition in Albania, I have therefore chosen this route that I would never wished to have taken and which I would not advise to anyone," he went on.

Mr. Kadare, who speaks French fluently, is currently in France where he is a frequent visitor. He is the author of novels including the 1980 "Nepunesi i pallatit te entrrave" (The employee of the palace of dreams), a Kafkaesque expose of totalitarianism, and the "Palace of Dreams" published here but not in Tirana.

In a noted preface to a book by Albanian writer Migjeni, Mr. Kadare writes: "Nobody can ignore that under a tyrannical regime, a great writer who is isolated is a bit like a tree which has been marked to be chopped down".

He said on Thursday that his decision to emigrate was "the logical consequence of everything that I have defended in my work until now".

Mr. Kadare, who has been on the short list for the Nobel prize for literature on several occasions, has also published a number of poems and essays.

France accepted a total 543 Albanian refugees in July after Albanians in Tirana crowded into foreign embassies seeking to emigrate. The Tirana authorities have refused to meet demands for a multi-party system.

Cuba's Soto Receives Foreign Trade Minister

AU2510172190 Tirana ATA in English 1255 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Tirana, October 25 (ATA)—Lionel Soto, vice chairman of the Council of Ministers of Cuba, received the minister of foreign trade of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Shane Korbeci. During the recption which passed in a friendly fashion, opinions were exchanged on the further positive development of the trade relations and on other fields of mutual interest.

Attending the reception was also Clirim Cepani, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of our country in Cuba.

Trade Agreement Signed

AU2510204690 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] An agreement on the exchange of goods and payments between the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Government of Cuba for 1991-1995, and a protocol for the exchange of goods and payments for 1991, were signed in Havana yesterday.

The agreements were signed for the Albanian side by Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade, and for the Cuban side by Ricardo Cabrisas, minister for foreign trade. Clirim Cepani, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to the Republic of Cuba, attended the signing ceremony.

Our country will export to Cuba copper wire and cables, food products, handicrafts, etc., and will import sugar, medicines, spare parts for motor vehicles, etc.

During his stay in Cuba, the minister of foreign trade held separate meetings with Jose Linares, minister of foreign affairs ad interim; Manuel Vila Sosa, minister of domestic trade; and Alejrando Roca, minister of the food industry. Views were exchanged at these meetings on further developing relations in other fields of mutual interest.

Alia Greets Austria's Waldheim on National Day

AU2510204890 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, president of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, has sent the following telegram of greetings to Kurt Waldheim, federal president of the Republic of Austria.

On the occasion of the celebration of your national day, in the name of the Albanian people, the presidium of the People's Assembly, and in my own name, I send your excellency warm greetings and best wishes for the happiness of the friendly Austrian people and the country's prosperity. I express the conviction that the friendly relations between Albania and Austria will constantly develop to the benefit of both our peoples and of peace and cooperation in Europe.

Semerdzhiev Returns From Iraq; Citizens To Follow

AU2610074290 Sofia BTA in English 2208 GMT 25 Oct 90

["Semerdzhiev Ends Visit to Iraq, but He Brings No Bulgarians Back"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 25 Oct (BTA)—Today Bulgaria's Vice President Atanas Semerdzhiev returned from Iraq. In his capacity of special envoy of Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic, and of the government, on October 22-25 he paid an official visit to Iraq leading a state delegation which included representatives of the major political forces represented at the Grand National Assembly.

Mr. Semerdzhiev was received by Mr. Saddam Husayn, president of Iraq, who was handed a written message from President Zhelev.

The vice president had meetings with the first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of Iraq, Mr. Taha Yasin Ramadan, the chairman of the National Assembly, Mr. Sa'di Mahdi Salih and with the vice president of Iraq, Mr. Taha Muhyi-al-Din Ma'ruf.

It is said in the official announcement that the two sides discussed bilateral relations and their future development in all fields. The importance of the further cooperation between the two countries was underlined. Appreciating the relations, President Saddam Husayn came out with the initiative to allow the Bulgarian citizens in Iraq who have fulfilled their employment contracts and the Bulgarian citizens whose presence is not needed for the completion of the projects there to leave that country if they are willing to do it.

The two sides stated their views on the situation in the Arab region and the world and on the changes in the Arab countries and the countries in Eastern Europe. They confirmed that all problems in the Arab region should be settled by peaceful means and through a dialogue and negotiations and rejected the war which would be a catastrophe for mankind and the world.

The two sides pointed out their readiness to solve all problems of bilateral relations in the spirit of understanding and by respecting and observing the norms of international law.

Despite all expectations and some preliminary announcements, no Bulgarian women or children came back on the flight on which Mr. Semerdzhiev returned from Baghdad.

According to Mr. Semerdzhiev no Bulgarian citizens came back with him because a procedure of routine should be performed at the Iraqi parliament. He said that President Husayn had made a political decision which involves the citizens of France, too.

The vice president said that more than 430 Bulgarians out of 690 are expected to return to Bulgaria. Those who are willing to do it can come back, he added. Mr. Semerdzhiev made a proviso by saying that the Bulgarians had undertook a very serious commitment: to ensure the completion of the projects constructed by the Bulgarian economic organizations under old contracts.

According to Mr. Semerdzhiev the Bulgarians who want to remain in Iraq are not few, but if necessary, others will be sent there to complete the construction of some projects.

The vice president considers that in Iraq there is understanding as to the fate of the Bulgarian citizens there.

I have the feeling that President Husayn believes in the peaceful settlement of the crisis, Mr. Semerdzhiev said.

Mr. Stoyan Ganev, national representative of the Union of Democratic Forces and a member of the delegation, told journalists that the extension of the Bulgarian citizens' contracts is not contrary to the United Nations Security Council resolution at the moment and that it is in compliance with international law. The Bulgarian citizens' lives are our primary concern, he pointed out.

Departure of 20 Nationals Rumored

AU2510152790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1515 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] We just received the following announcement from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs:

The aircraft, aboard which is our delegation, headed by Vice President Atanas Semerdzhiev, is scheduled to take off from Baghdad at 1800 [1600 GMT] and is expected to arrive in Sofia at about 2030.

Approximately 20 Bulgarian citizens are reported to be aboard the aircraft with the official delegation.

Economic Links To Be Restored With Turkey

AU2510162190 Sofia BTA in English 1438 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 25 Oct (BTA)—Bulgaro-Turkish relations normalize, Mr. Isin Celebi, minister of state of Turkey, told the BTA after he conferred with Bulgarian Prime Minister Mr. Andrey Lukanov.

The Bulgarian head of government described Mr. Celebi's visit as an element of a very intense political dialogue which should lead to a complete normalization of bilateral relations.

The visit of Mr. Isin Celebi, who is accompanied by some 70 high-ranking Turkish officials and influential business executives, was arranged when Mr. Lukanov met with Mr. Turgut Ozal, president of Turkey, in Antalya in September and was confirmed at the meeting of the two countries' heads of state, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev and Mr. Ozal, in New York earlier this month.

Basically, the idea of bilateral economic cooperation is at least to restore the 1985 level of commercial exchanges at 200 million dollars per annum. After 1985, the economic contacts between Sofia and Ankara were reduced to nothing when the totalitarian regime launched its campaign to rename Bulgarian Muslims.

Turkey will help Bulgaria cope with the grave problems it faces as a result of the Gulf crisis by supplying considerable amounts of fuel oil and electricity on credit which this country will use primarily to import technologies and know-how for the production of consumer goods.

The two governments will support the joint initiative of the business circles to establish a Bulgarian-Turkish business forum.

The Bulgaro-Turkish Intergovernmental Commission on Economic, Industrial and Techno-Scientific cooperation will resume its operation in early 1991 after a break of five years. The commission will specify the ideas on joint investment and projects in tourism, communications and other spheres within Ankara's plans for the establishment of a Black Sea "common market."

The Turkish version of a transition to market economy contains a number of interesting elements applicable in Bulgaria, Mr. Lukanov believes. He exchanged views with Mr. Celebi on the matter.

Mr. Celebi conveyed cordial greetings from the president of Turkey to the Bulgarian prime minister. Mr. Lukanov told the BTA that President Turgut Ozal takes important credit for the improvement of the climate in bilateral relations over the last few months.

Pro-Macedonian Organization Blocks Borders

AU2510213290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Supporters of two pro-Macedonian organizations blocked most border checkpoints on the Yugoslav-Greek, Yugoslav-Bulgarian, and Yugoslav-Albanian borders for three hours today.

The protest demonstrations are organized by the Bitolj-based Association of Macedonians from the Aegean and the Macedonian World Congress, as TANJUG reports.

The organizers of the action are reported to be offended by the fact that the issue Macedonian national minorities situation in Bulgaria, Greece, and Albania was not raised at the Balkan countries' foreign affairs ministers meeting in Tirana.

SDS Political Declaration Delivered in Assembly

AU2510191490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1719 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Declaration of the Union of Democratic Forces, SDS, read by SDS Deputy Aleksandur Yordanov at Grand National Assembly session in Sofia—live]

[Text] Esteemed National Assembly Deputies, I am entrusted by the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] leadership and by its chairman, Mr. Petur Beron, in person, to read the text of a political declaration.

Political Declaration of the Parliamentary Union of Democratic Forces:

In expressing its great concern and worry about the existing political, economic, and intellectual state of our country, the Parliamentary Union of Democratic Forces addresses the following political declaration to the Bulgarian people.

Having accepted the common will of our constituents for a radical change of the political and economic system in our country, we can no longer conceal the truth from our people that certain forces unfortunately exist in the Bulgarian parliament which are not interested in prompt and resolute reforms. These forces are focusing their attention on private problems of society and are consciously and deliberately obstructing the work on the country's basic laws and on the new Bulgarian Constitution. We are talking about their efforts to impose a certain political strategy upon the work of the Grand National Assembly. This is a pronounced narrow-minded party concept which is drastically contradicts the Bulgarian people's expectations.

With their inconsistent, contradictory, and sometimes even dictatorial behavior in parliament, some representatives of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] parliamentary group are involuntarily becoming the instrument of an outdated party policy. They create conditions for an undesirable obstruction of the parliament's work. They do not protect nationwide interests, they do not work for the full and final victory over totalitarianism and for parliamentary transition to true democracy, but for the opposite. They give priority to the political and economic interests of a certain upper crust from the former Communist Party and of its legitimate and logical successor—the BSP.

The facts convincingly show the efforts to undermine the work of the Grand National Assembly, to discredit its social and national prestige, and to postpone the real transformation of the economic and political system in our country through a doubtful parliamentary policy, in quotation marks. An attempt is being made to involve the SDS in the responsibility for the economic and even political crimes committed during the totalitarian regime and today.

We welcome the aspirations of certain circles within the BSP for change, for a new approach to their party's past. However, in our opinion and according to the opinions of our constituents, part of the BSP parliamentary majority is deliberately striving by means of purely political maneuvers to delay the work of the parliament. Thus it is trying to aggravate the country's political disaster even more.

We are also strangely impressed by the fact that in numerous cases the government's problems are placed above the parliament's work. In other cases, the behavior of the majority is determined by personalities who are responsible for Bulgaria's disastrous situation. The goal is clear: The guilt should be gradually shifted from the culprits to the innocent and a desire for reforms should be expressed, while in reality the democratic process is being protracted, so that some circles in the BSP might transform their former monopolistic political power into monopolistic economic power. We evaluate their behavior as antinational, anti-people, and immoral.

Today our country is at a crossroads. As National Assembly deputies we should all sincerely and frankly declare that only the prompt and categorical rejection of the bankrupt political and economic totalitarian system of socialism can guarantee a free, just, and prosperous life for our nation in the future. History will never forgive us if we do not accomplish this.

The SDS parliamentary group categorically declares the following:

The Grand National Assembly is the country's supreme legislative organ. It is in charge of a great task today, namely, within a short time to change the country's political and economic system. These two changes should be implemented simultaneously.

It is impossible to change the economic system in Bulgaria without drastically changing the political system. Our understanding and conviction is based on the experience of other countries and peoples belonging to the former socialist camp. We confirm once again, here in your presence, the standpoint of the SDS parliamentary group about the trends and activities of the Grand National Assembly and the government which we adopted on 21 September 1990.

At the same time we declare the following:

First, the BSP as the legitimate, logical, and moral successor of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] is the only one responsible for the disastrous economic situation of our country and should assume the total historical responsibility for Bulgaria's present economic situation and for the bad reputation of our homeland in the world. This responsibility should be publicly announced and should be accompanied by the confirmation of a constructive spirit of work in the Grand National Assembly.

Second, the BSP should adopt by a specific deadline unequivocal steps for disclosing the personal economic and political responsibility for the national disaster. It should support and cooperate with all organs which are engaged in investigating political and economic crimes of former communist governments, of the BCP Central Committee and the Politburo, of the former State Security services, of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, of the courts and the Prosecutor's Office, of the State Council, the Ministry of Economy, and of the local organs of state and party power. It is necessary to assess the activities of the former BSP governments with the same sense of responsibility, especially as regards the economic sector.

The following specific measures should be adopted, in our opinion:

The government should submit to the Parliamentary Enquiry Commission all the materials that are available to it, containing the chronological history, the files, and the names of the functionaries who were involved in adopting the disastrous party and state decisions in the spheres of the country's policy, economy, and ecology. The government should submit to the Prosecutor's Office all materials which accuse high-ranking party and Komsomol leaders of crimes. The same applies to ministers and deputy ministers, to municipal, oblast, and local party leaderships.

The government should request that the BSP Supreme Council hand in all documents contained in party archives which are likely to clarify the aforementioned questions. The government should submit a report to parliament related to the methods and means of subsidizing political parties prior to 10 November 1989, and also revealing the financial resources spent for their maintainance in addition to the subsidies determined by the state budget. The government should submit a report to parliament concerning the losses caused to the state by donations and business deals in favor of political parties. The government should publicize the files connected with the squandering of state resources for social activities, such as assemblies, party congresses, and so forth.

The government, in its legislative and practical activities, should commit itself never to allow the market reforms to legitimize and increase the properties of persons who have benefitted from the totalitarian regime. This implies, in particular, a special draft law on confiscating such properties.

In the second place, the government should publish a report on the sources and size of such properties which were acquired on the basis of assuming leading posts under the totalitarian regime. The report should contain data on the housing program of the Specialized Secret Service [UBO] and on the conditions of building; on the expenditures of the UBO budget for the personal requirements of the aforementioned leaders and their families; and data on the free granting and purchase of foreign currency by such persons.

In the third place, the government should adopt specific means for restoring the financial resources and other forms of property which the people in question have exported, or to declare that it has not discovered any offenses in this respect. The same rule should apply to companies abroad in which Bulgarian citizens have invested capital.

The government should investigate the activities of Bulgarian companies abroad and the use of trade operations and other transactions for the export of capital. The government should submit detailed reports on the responsibility of individuals for accumulating the foreign debt and report on the persons who are responsible for adopting the decision of stopping the repayment of foreign debts and on the manner in which this decision was adopted.

In the third place, the SDS parliamentary group, in assessing the country's disastrous economic situation and the numerous efforts to transform state property into the property of party and private companies, insists that the BSP, as the legitimate, logical, and moral successor of the BCP, should by a specific deadline, submit all its movable and immovable property, with the exception of resources obtained from members' contributions, to the people and the state. It should do this unconditionally and without any compensation, considering that the BCP robbed the people for decades through its totalitarian economic, social, and partial party policy.

Guided by the sense of historical responsibility and political ethics, we insist that constructive steps and actions be adopted immediately adopted by the Grand National Assembly, by the government, and by the President's Office, which would be likely to bring about a new social and psychological atmosphere in our country and to inspire public confidence in the inevitable ills of the economic reform.

The Bulgarian people are a mature and a long-suffering nation. They are wise and have a lofty national and human dignity. They will duly appreciate all our efforts for the full and total dismantling of the political and economic structures of totalitarianism, only if we, the Grand National Assembly, reveal the whole truth about the past, only if our society adopts new social ethics, new political and moral criteria, and only if we work with a sense of responsibility for the homeland's fate and not for the interests of certain political parties and organizations.

At the same time we discover in the BSP government's program certain intentions which have not been confirmed by establishing specific deadlines or timetables, which we consider contradictory and unconstructive, and which do not conform with the logic of the present historical process and with the political context in which the economic reform should be implemented. A program on the system's economic reform should be coordinated with a respective reform of the political system.

In addressing the entire Bulgarian people with this declaration, and being aware of the exceptional responsibility for all our words and acts, we declare that the future of the one-party government directly depends upon the readiness of the BSP majority in parliament to engage in prompt and categorical legislative acts, for constructive dialogue, and for unanimity on all questions, problems, and requirements contained in this declaration.

The time of delays, of behind-the-scenes political machinations, and of political tutelage over the Grand National Assembly is over. Let us all, together, choose democracy and justice, and let us be faithful to our oath.

Signed on 25 October 1990 by the SDS Parliamentary group. Thank you for your attention.

Assembly Agrees To Amend People's Councils Act

AU2510194690 Sofia BTA in English 1900 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 25 Oct (BTA)—This evening the Bulgarian parliament adopted a bill amending the People's Councils Act.

The bill had to be passed to invest with legal power the interim authorities which took over the local administration after the expiry of the office-holding term of the regional and municipal councils on August 28.

The point at issue was whether the election and the dismissal of the leaders of the specialized administrative bodies set up with the councils should be subject to an agreement among the local political forces. The opposition rejected the idea. According to the opposition members of parliament who took the floor it might result in the establishment of second power. The parliamentary majority of the Socialists decided the argument in their favor.

According to some M.P's in most probability the local authority elections will be held in February or March next year. The opposition puts much reliance on the local elections. The latest public opinion polls show that its influence has increased. In the lobby some opposition M.P.'s expressed the opinion that delaying the local authority elections was dangerous. "The dismantling of the totalitarian system is too slow," one of them said.

After long debates the national representatives failed to reach an agreement to put to the vote the setting up of a foreign relief agency which would distribute and control the relief coming to the country from abroad today. The proposal for the agency was made by President Zhelyu Zhelev.

This evening the debates on the government program presented by Premier Andrey Lukanov on October 10 were opened.

Zhelev Makes Address To Depoliticized State Staff

AU2610081190 Sofia BTA in English 2105 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 25 Oct (BTA)—A dramatic period sets in for the personnel of the state institutions which will be

depoliticized in compliance with the law adopted yesterday by the Grand National Assembly, the president of the country, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, underlines.

In the address to the employees of the Ministry of National Defence, the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Courts of Law, the Prosecuting Magistracy, the National Intelligence Service and the National Security Department given for publication today, the hope is expressed that this act will contribute to overcoming the deformity and the restrictions imposed on professionalism and morality through the application of ideological and political tenets.

The Bulgarian state leader points out that everybody should make his own decision without succumbing to outside pressure and stresses the necessity of giving the respective guarantees to all honest, incorrupt and highly professional employees at these institutions.

"These people should not worry and they should be certain that they will be not illegally or unfoundedly persecuted nor will they be dealt with for political reasons," President Zhelev stresses.

In his capacity of head of state and as initiator of the change, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev undertakes to urge the working out and the adoption of the legal norms and of the economic measures the changes necessitate. It is realized that people cannot be changed by issuing administrative acts, but it is also stressed that serving the national interests is above any party goals and biases.

The address expresses the conviction that this step will speed up the processes of democratization in society and the reform of the institutions concerned.

It is also pointed out that the decision is of temporary character and will be valid until a wide-ranging law on state employees is adopted.

Opposition Demands BSP Accept Guilt for Crisis

AU2510144890 Sofia BTA in English 0835 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Sófia, 25 Oct (BTA)—The opposition wants a clear answer about the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] guilt for the disastrous state of Bulgaria after its 45-year rule, Mr. Vladimir Sotirov M.P. of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) told an extempore news conference in the lobby of parliament yesterday.

"We want at least one Communist finally to face trial instead of just getting lists of culprits," he said, referring to the list of over 90 former party functionaries and economic executives who have abused their authority. The list appeared in today's "SVOBODEN NAROD" and the editorial office claims it has been leaked from the BSP Supreme Council. The Socialists announced last week that they will soon make public specific facts and will name culprits for the crisis.

"The BSP dallies over assuming its guilt, the work of parliament is blocked and its prestige has plummeted," the opposition leader Mr. Petur Beron emphasized. He blamed the parliamentary crisis on the BSP. He described as "alarming" the fact that according to the latest public opinion polls, merely 13 per cent of Bulgarians approve of their parliament. "Our authority with our constituents is called into question," Mr. Aleksandur Yordanov M.P. of the Radical Democratic Party said. He stressed the opinion of the SDS that it is high time parliament step up its lawmaking work, that the key economic legislation and the major political decisions be voted in quickly and that work start on the new Constitution.

"The opposition urges the BSP to declare its property and to give the state back the illegally acquired property. "There can be no rich party in a state," Mr. Yordanov said. He added that the opposition objects to the government programme submitted by Prime Minister Mr. Andrey Lukanov on several points: the way the reform would be launched, the social protection and the political guarantees on the part of the BSP. The opposition views the acknowledgement of the guilt and the declaration of the property as such guarantees.

Further on Bomb Explosion in Shumen Party Club

AU2510153490 Sofia BTA in English 1436 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Shumen, 25 Oct (BTA)—A bomb exploded in the club of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms in the centre of Shumen at 3 am today. The premises were seriously damaged and the neighbouring club of the Alternative Socialist Party was hit, too.

The investigators of the regional directorate of internal affairs assume that the explosive device was planted inside the club. Because of the late hour there was no street traffic and no casualties. Forensic experts are examining the site and an investigation will be conducted to identify the causes and the perpetrators.

New Security Service Spokesman Interviewed

AU2510114190 Sofia MLADEZH in Bulgarian 22 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Chavdar Petkov, spokesman of the National Service for the Protection of the Constitution, by unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "No Subject for Studio X"]

[Text] [Reporter] Mr. Petkov, our readers know very little about the activities of the newly established service. How can the Constitution be threatened, and what kind of protection does it need?

[Petkov] The activities of the National Service for the Protection of the Constitution [NSZK] are devoted to the protection of our country's national security. According to our understanding, the very concept of

"national security" involves the capability of protecting the country's territorial integrity, its national identity, and government structure, the ability of reliably watching over the safety of the country's border, and of guaranteeing Bulgaria's international political, economic, and other relations at advantageous, or at least acceptable, conditions for our country.

A threat against our national security may stem from objectively developing processes, or from the actions of individuals, or organizations, regardless of their nationality. The protection of national security is a basic function of the state and the NSZK is a specialized state organ. The specific nature of our service is determined both by the secret (or underground) nature of the threat and by the special forces, methods, and means which we are applying in our work.

The basic objective of the NSZK is to protect the citizens' rights and freedoms and to guarantee the normal development and functioning of the democratic system in our society within the framework of the service's competence and prerogatives. It is under this aspect that we should understand the general definition applied to our service describing it as a guarantor of the peaceful democratization process. This may seem incredible to you, but it is a fact. The past is another question.

[Reporter] Which of the former services were integrated in the NSZK?

[Petkov] Our present service was established on the basis of the former counterintelligence service and the administration for the protection of economic institutions, on the basis of their traditions and professional experience. Part of the employees from the former Department No. 6 were reemployed in the new service. They were selected after a careful examination of their personal and professional qualifications, under the condition that they were never involved in the implementation of repressive measures against "dissidents." Our cadres are quite familiar with the so-called "democracy" abroad and have long since been informed on the current processes in our society, as a result of which they were never surprised by the events of the last year.

[Reporter] Various security departments existed in our country prior to 10 November 1989 which are accused of having committed many sins. Are you convinced of starting your work from the scratch with a clean conscience, or are you supposed to assume the responsibility for some of the old sins?

[Petkov] At all times and in all countries of the world, security organs have been part of the state apparatus and have been in charge of protecting society against destructive internal and external influences. Under totalitarian regimes the state totally supplants society, or at least part of it, while the security organs become state security organs assuming all the objectives and tasks stemming from this fact.

Now that our society is returning to normal, criticism is directed against the security organs, but this is only the tip of the iceberg. We are law enforcement organs, as a whole, and we have to obey the laws—right, or wrong—however, we must admit that a major part of our people did not only obey the law, but also acted according to their own conscience in the past. Naturally, every rule has its exceptions, but we have eliminated and are still eliminating those employees who have violated the moral and ethical norms, let alone the laws, from our ranks.

We can hardly claim that we are starting from zero, "with a clean conscience," but, on the other hand, we refuse to bear responsibility for other people's sins. We hope to acquire a new image. So far, the misunderstood secrecy behind which many shortcomings were concealed, not only in our department, but in all other places, prevented us from doing so. Glasnost and public control within the framework of certain limits, of course, are the new principles of our work, and this should be understood.

[Reporter] Let us talk some more about the recent past. The tremendous privileges of the secret service functionaries were not written down anywhere, but they were common knowledge. Are the employees of the NSZK enjoying any special privileges today?

[Petkov] The so-called "privileges" of the past stemmed from the inappropriate functions assumed by the "State Security" Department, chiefly involving the prerogative of exercising control over the citizens' foreign travel permits. However, very few people are aware of the fact that our employees were punished when some of the citizens "forgot" to return from abroad.

As far as real privileges are concerned, they are nonexistent. There is even more: Our employees are not protected by the law. So far, they were protected by the regime, but what about today....? Unlike public prosecutors and judges, our employees have no immunity, despite the fact that they are in charge of particularly responsible tasks involving our national security, not to mention the struggle against terrorism and organized crime, which often serve as covers for even more vicious offenses. Such activities involve endless working hours. In the meantime our employees are not entitled to engage in private practice as lawyers, economists, engineers, and so forth. Their travel abroad was and can still be restricted in the interest of national security. The restriction extends to a five-year period following the employees' retirement, or resignation.

Please, do not think that I am complaining, because we are all perfectly aware of the restrictions awaiting us, from the very first hours of our employment. We must also definitely say that the social status of our employees should be in accordance with the importance of their work, which does not depend on us alone.

[Reporter] Can you describe the qualities required from employees in your department?

[Petkov] The most important requirement today is patience and honesty toward ourselves and toward other people. As far as the other requirements are concerned, it is necessary for the employees to have a university degree, at least, to speak a foreign language, and to possess the necessary physical and psychological qualifications.

Our profession is difficult, but interesting. Many of the films we see on the Studio X television program are useful, even from a professional point of view. I think that we understand each other....

[Reporter] A real conversion from secrecy to openness is currently under way in our country. Our newspapers, our radio, and television are publishing figures and data which, until recently, were deeply buried in the "file cabinets" reserved for state secrets. However, every country, even the most democratic one, has state secrets. What should happen with the secret files, in your opinion.

[Petkov] This is a topical subject indeed which we could discuss at length. Not only the subject of state secrets is interesting. The problems of industrial, trade, and personal secrets of citizens are now emerging as priority topics. You could talk to our experts, but these problems exist not only within the competence of the NSZK. I think that the still existing list of the Council of Ministers containing classified projects, facts, and data which are considered state secrets should be considerably abbreviated, and that it should be limited to subjects concerning vitally important national problems in the spheres of economy, national defense, and foreign policy.

As to the secrets of our work, we are ready for such "conversion," as you call it, as long as it does not affect either our resources and means, or the specific time and place of their application. In other words—I would define it in the following manner: "Facts should be disclosed, but the source should not be revealed."

[Reporter] Depoliticization of state institutions, the NSZK included, is a very topical subject today. What does depoliticization actually mean in your case?

[Petkov] The basic function of the NSZK is to guarantee the effectiveness of the organs in charge of protecting national interests, on the a constitutional basis, by supplying them with classified advance information. It means that our service, within the limits of its own prerogatives and competence, is expected to provide our domestic and foreign policy organs with topical information. In this context the term "depoliticization" is not quite precise. Some people are also talking about departyization, deideologization, and so forth.

Whatever we call it, the meaning is one and the same—it implies that our employees should not be members of any political parties and organizations, and that they should recognize the equal rights of different political forces before the Law.

The question has also some other aspects which should not be overlooked. A security service employee, whether motivated by political convictions or sympathies for one party or another, must not pass on information acquired in the course of fulfilling his direct official duties to the party about its opponent.

[Reporter] The Bulgarian Democratic Youth is also a supraparty organization and it is independent from the political forces. Just like the NSZK, our organization is interested in initiating roundtable talks on national security and in participating in it. Such ideas are integrated in the program documents of our youth organization and we would be very glad to hold such a constructive discussion. Would you like to join our initiative?

[Petrov] Your idea is good and deserves attention. Our experts have long since been dealing with this problem. We are ready to participate in the roundtable talks if you should organize such a discussion.

I would just like to add a clarifiying remark: The problem of protecting national security is very extensive. Therefore we can participate only in a discussion related to problems of national security which are within our competence.

[Reporter] Thank your for your responsiveness. We really hope to become the initiators of a discussion on national security problems.

Employment, Social Welfare Minister Outlines Plan

AU2510192490 Sofia BTA in English 1720 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 25 Oct (BTA)—According to Minister Emiliya Maslarova, who heads the newly established Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare, next year the normal Bulgarian family cannot be expected to live a normal life.

The main principle which we will be guided by in this difficult period will be that of reasonable sufficiency, she stated at a news conference today on presenting her programme. The ministry realizes that its programme should be carried out and the existing problems should be solved in line with the economic reform and depending on the crisis. Special short-term reforms should be implemented that would not shatter the system, but would yield quick and efficient results.

All work will be channeled in four directions: employment problems, social security, social welfare and income policy.

The formation of market principles in the field of employment will be prioritized and for this purpose a draft law is being worked out which will cover all Bulgarians working abroad, too. The now existing unemployment of about 46,000 people against 36,000 vacancies (a little more than one percent of the able-bodied population) is still dictated by the lack of raw materials,

feedstock and power. It is not the structural unemployment which will result from privatization. According to the pessimistic forecast made by Minister Maslarova it is expected that by the end of 1991 there will be 500,000 unemployed, while the optimistic variant she mentioned 250,000. She underlined that it is absolutely necessary to optimize the state system of employment management by building up a uniform national automated informational system.

The system of social welfare, which until recently was the last priority of society, should be radically restructured. Up to now about 500 thousand people have been recorded as needy, but according to Minister Maslarova their number will exceed one million by the end of the year. It is envisaged to set up an independent social welfare fund. It will be relied on social work, on incentives secured by public means, on the taxation policy, on the financial and credit policy and on charity.

There are a lot of problems with the social welfare personnel. Now a social worker attends to 28,000 people, while in other countries the norm is three or four thousand. To start with, the target will be one social worker attending to 10 thousand people.

In the sphere of income, living standards and cost of living special attention will be paid to children, newly married couples, women, invalids and lonely people. It is envisaged to apply a 100-percent indexation to child benefits and mothers' maternity leave payment. There is a basis for increasing child benefits depending on the change in the cost of living. The indexation of the minimum wages of 165 leva is forthcoming, because the rise in the living minimum in August was 10.5 percent compared with June and in September is was almost 16 percent.

Minister Maslarova underlined she works in close cooperation with the trade unions.

Forty-one-year-old Emiliya Maslarova, who specialized in living standards and social work, has formed her cabinet by appointing specialists in this sphere—mainly professors and research workers. The staff of the ministry is 130 people strong.

Defense Minister Explains New Law To Army

AU2510221590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2100 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] The collegium of the Ministry of National Defense discussed the tasks of the Bulgarian People's Army stemming from the Law on Political Parties, which was recently adopted by the Grand National Assembly, at a meeting today.

Colonel General Yordan Mutafchiev, minister of national defense, issued instructions on the explanation of the law to military personnel, the employees, and workers in military institutions.

He defined the tasks of commanders and leaders in connection with applying the requirements stemming from the law in the Army.

Green Party Recalls Oct 1989 Beatings in Sofia

AU2610100590 Sofia BTA in English 0831 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 26 Oct (BTA)—On October 26, 1989, the Bulgarian dissidents were beaten in the centre of Sofia.

They were collecting signatures against the building of two hydro-power stations. But they put, in fact their signatures against the totalitarian system. There was a formal reason, too, for the collision between the handful of dissidents and the authorities: The dissidents did not want to observe the resolution of the mayor of Sofia and collect their signatures in a park in the capital city's outskirts and not in its centre.

At the same time the European Ecoforum had been holding a session in Sofia. The the thirty odd Bulgarian intellectuals-dissidents from the Ecoglasnost informal movement, most of whom are today M.P.'s, wanted to draw the foreign guests' attention to the truth about Bulgarian ecology.

The special services officers, who had all been in civilian dress, brutally pushed the participants in the protest event in buses and drove them to the Southern Park recommended by the mayor. "These two well-groomed boys were beating mercilessly with an unbelievable hatred," Aleksandur Karakachanov, who is now leader of the Green Party and mayor of Sofia, recalls. They went on beating in the buses, too. An elegant women's high-heeled shoe remained lying on the pavement.

BBC journalist Mike Power's camera was broken. Accidental witnesses who dared call that this was a shame were threatened, too. "They are shooting a film on the resistance movement," a broad-shouldered man told a passers-by who saw that they were beating the well-known Bulgarian actor Petur Slabakov, who is also today a member of the opposition in parliament.

The open collisions between the members of Ecoglasnost and the authorities started long before October 26, Pirin Vodenicharov says. Mr. Vodenicharov is also an M.P. now and was then one of the 100 Ecoglasnost activists. Back at the first gatherings of the movement there were police and civil cops who rudely threatened the people. Ecoglasnost had then been the most powerful non-formal movement. The Committee for Defence of Human Rights, the non-formal Podkrepa trade union, the Club for Openness and Democracy and the Movement for Civil Initiative all joined the Ecoglasnost activities in October. The setting up of opposition parties seemed much more impossible at that time, Vodenicharov said.

A year after the Ecoglasnost initiative followed by the November 10, 1989, changes, by free elections, and by

the establishment and strengthening of the opposition, the participants saw the events of that time with different eyes.

In an interview with EKOPOLITIKA, the Green Party weekly, Pirin Vodenicharov says that certain ruling circles had used the conflict to motivate their need of changes at the top of the state and party oligarchy. A large part of the officers in the Ministry of Interior did not approve of the brutal acts against the Ecoglasnost members. The only one who was blamed was Major Bonev, who committed suicide a month later. "This man had not been rude to us," the Ecoglasnost members say.

"If the authorities had wanted they could have crushed us," Petur Slabakov writes in EKOPOLITIKA. "But they could also not let October 26, 1989, happen. There were so many people who vanished over the last 45 years. Apparently someone needed this incident," Slabakov goes on to say.

"This incident was necessary for some people in the higher party spheres to motivate Zhivkov's toppling," EKOPOLITIKA writes in its commentary. "Who are they," the paper asks. "Perhaps the participants in the November 10, 1989, coup d'etat when Mladenov replaced Zhivkov," EKOPOLITIKA writes. And maybe some other circles?

IAEA Experts Criticize Kozloduy Nuclear Plant

AU2510192690 Sofia BTA in English 1829 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 25 Oct (BTA)—After two weeks of work, the inspection of the nuclear power plant in the town of Kozloduy carried out by the Osart minimission under an agreement between the Bulgarian Government and the International Atomic Energy Agency was completed today.

The experts checked up the exploitation, the technical maintenance and the repair of the 1000-megawatt generating unit 5.

The leader of the mission, Mr. Ferdinand Franzen, summarized the results and said that to make a fuller technical evaluation one should know the on-spot conditions of work and the life in Bulgaria in general and in Kozloduy in particular. "The conditions of life and work here resulted in an almost dramatic brain drain which poses a threat to the safe commission of Generating unit 6 and could possibly lead to forcibly closing generating unit 5 which is now serviced by a small number of senior operators and engineers. The labour hand available now can be encouraged to stay at their workplace and new experienced engineers, technicians and workers can be enrolled only by creating attractive conditions of life and work comparable to those in the other high technology and well developed industries," he said. "Besides while it is managed according to the principles of the morally outdated civil administration with its rigid rules for funds, structures, personnel and separation of the services (the production of electric power and heating) from the manufacturing costs (construction and exploitation of the equipment), the Kozloduy N-Plant cannot function as a modern industrial enterprise. The utterly complicated and inefficient organizational structures within the framework of the plant and the deformed distribution of power and responsibility hinder the application of modern methods and means of management, the optimal usage of resources, the establishment of productive contacts beyond the limits of the separate departments and workshops and the cultivation of a spirit of collectivism that would unite leadership and workers," Mr. Franzen went on to say.

The mission insists to adhere and to extend the recently adopted "open-doors" policy face to face with the international nuclear community and face to face with the broad public". The Kozloduy N-Plant in general and generating unit 5 in particular are obviously passing through a critical phase in their exploitation life. The seriousness of the situation should not be underestimated, things should be got properly under control through the resolution and the goodwill of all concerned and their ensuing coordinated action.

The report stating the results of the inspection will be submitted to the Bulgarian Government.

The date of the real Osart mission was specified: June 18, 1991. At that time inspection will be carried out of generating unit 5 according to the following plan: preparation and qualification of the personnel, radiation protection, chemistry, breakdown planning, organization, production and administration.

World Bank Envoy Supports Rapid Economic Reform

AU2510192890 Sofia BTA in English 1855 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 25 Oct (BTA)—The command-and-administer economy is no longer existent in Bulgaria, but it has not been marketized yet. The alternative is the implementation of a rapid and decisive economic reform which will receive solid international support through the active assistance of the World Bank.

With these words the senior vice president of the World Bank, Mr. Moeen Qureshi, summarized his impressions from the visit he paid to Bulgaria.

According to Mr. Qureshi the programme of Mr. Andrey Lukanov's government is good as a concept, but the support of the whole nation is an indispensable prerequisite for its successful implementation. The expert of the World Bank was assured by the Bulgarian Government that the programme would be concretized in the near future.

Another indispensable condition for overcoming the crisis is the precipitation of the negotiations with the

International Monetary Fund for the purpose of outlining a macroeconomic policy, the long-range target of which will be Bulgaria's solid financial position. In Mr. Qureshi's opinion in this case the World Bank will be able to render assistance in finding an adequate solution to the problem of Bulgaria's foreign debt by accommodating the interests of all concerned.

The guest recommended that the structural reforms should be speeded up through quick privatization of small and medium-size enterprises and through gradual privatization of the larger ones; through restructuring the industry and in particular the power generation sector, which Mr. Qureshi considers to be utterly wasteful and inefficient; through the adoption of urgent legislative measures for the efficient development of agriculture and of all branches that can repay quickly the investment made; through the pursuance of an energetically pursued ecological policy and so on.

In actual fact Bulgaria has no other alternative. If decisive steps towards the reform are not made, no matter how painful they may prove to be, the prospects are grim, the vice president of the World Bank said. He pointed out that the bank would insist on combining the reform with a special programme for the protection of the socially disadvantaged Bulgarians.

Georgi Markov Case Discussed on Television

AU2510145090 Sofia BTA in English 0832 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 25 Oct (BTA)—The pellet which probably contained the poison that killed writer Georgi Markov "is the work of the KGB, they are experts," said Mr. Oleg Gordievsky, the double agent whose book came out in London recently. Mr. Gordievsky told this to a Bulgarian journalist over the phone, and the talk was aired on Bulgarian Television last night. Mr. Gordievsky believes that the shooting of the pellet with the help of the "Bulgarian umbrella" was the work of the Bulgarians. He expressed the view that the persons involved in Bulgaria had not cleared the operation with the KGB.

Mr. Kosta Bogatsevski, spokesman for the Criminal Investigation Department, was again interviewed last night. He repeated his statement from Tuesday night that the just started investigation into the death of writer Georgi Markov in London in 1978 will check all versions and will "look for the truth irrespective of where the clues lead."

According to Georgi Markov's widow, Mrs. Annabel Markov, the writer's murder was carefully planned. She believes that some organisation stands behind the crime.

Parliament Votes on 'Important' Privatization Bill

LD2510105790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0900 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Correspondent Roman Zamboch reports from the Federal Assembly in Prague on the joint session of the two Federal Assembly chambers on 25 October—live]

[Text] Good morning to you. Yes, this is so: The session will continue in a few minutes. It is extremely important for every one of us, I would say. Voting on the text of the bill on the small-scale privatization will take place. The bill will influence significantly the face of our trade and services network in the entire country.

As you may know from our previous bulletins or from the morning papers, the debate ended late last night—it has brought more comments, proposals, and specific counter-proposals on the submitted text. Although the constitutional and legal committee have met yet again this morning to turn the comments into a legal form, everything will be decided only in the plenum when voting takes place because in a majority of cases the disputed issues are viewed from various political aspects.

In this case the issue is no longer any mutual clarification of views but an expression of parliamentary majority. Today more than ever in this parliament the results of the parliamentary election will decide the final text of a bill.

The small-scale privatization has stirred up the waters of public opinion—this is obvious and it was proven yet again today when after some time we could see outside the parliament posters and a small demonstration. Its participants see the complex character of deliberations in the fact that former communists-reformists are present and demand their recalling. There is now peace and quiet again in the 100 meter perimeter of the parliament.

This is all for the time being.

Approves Small Privatization Law

LD2510162990 Prague CTK in English 1346 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 25 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament) today approved the law on small privatisation, the first major step towards a reform which is to change the country's economy controlled by central planning to a market economy.

Shops, workshops, services, restaurants, and other small businesses are to be sold at auctions under the new legislation.

Of 239 deputies present at the session, 202 voted for the law.

The law, taking effect on December 1, 1990, embodies the principles pressed for by the majority of Czechoslovak economists, and rejects all demands for preferences.

The law applies to shops, services, and small businesses run by state enterprises and national committees but not to cooperative property.

The selection of shops and businesses to be privatized will be conducted by the pertaining republic bodies and the republics will also lay down their own auction rules. Privatisation will be carried out through auctions guaranteeing the widest possible participation of prospective buyers and enabling the public to control the whole process.

The law contains the principle that the buyer of a food-selling shop will have to continue selling food at least for a year unless a local council shortens this period at his request. The law stipulates the duty to buy shops or services together with their stocks.

Federal Assembly Session Suspended Until 30 Oct

LD2510194490 Prague CTK in English 1819 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 25 (CTK)—The joint session of both houses of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly was suspended today to continue next Tuesday [30 October], after a debate on the past 42 years and the causes of the rise of the totalitarian system.

Pavel Bratinka, a deputy for the Civic Forum, said the aim is not to put some people before a court because they once did somebody an injustice but to prevent the setting of a "precedent of collective impunity and restore the authority of laws." These aims can be achieved only through a clear declaration by the Federal Assembly, expressing a moral and political judgement over the whole period between February 25, 1948 (when communists seized power in Czechoslovakia) and November 17, 1989, and suggesting the establishment of an institution with the necessary powers to clarify at least the worst crimes of that time, Bratinka stated.

Cabinet Seeks Resolution to Power-Sharing Issue

LD2510151390 Prague CTK in English 1419 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 25 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak cabinet said today that if its ministers or the federal, Czech, and Slovak premiers fail to resolve the controversial power-sharing issue, the present regulations in those branches where no agreement is reached will be in force until the new constitution has been passed.

The final part of a package of economic laws necessary for the start of the reform was on the agenda of the cabinet's session today.

It dealt with the progress of work on legislation concerning the sharing of powers between the federation and the Czech and Slovak Republics.

The government asked its ministers to try to solve all unresolved issues in their respective specialized commissions by October 31. If no solution is found, the problems will be passed to the federal and the Czech and Slovak premiers. If stands are not united even then, the present regulations will remain in force and will be solved within the framework of the preparation of the new constitution.

Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus and Strategic Planning Minister Pavel Hoffmann have gone straight from the session to inform a working group which is to sum up the conclusions from the specialized commissions formed to deal with the different branches after a meeting of representatives of the three governments at the beginning of August.

The Slovak Government approved its draft for the power-sharing legislation earlier this week and demands that it come into force next January 1. Czech and federal representatives have made it clear that agreement of all three sides must be reached. The parliament presidium has agreed to put off the deadline for the submission of the legislation to parliament so that it could be approved by that date.

Views on Political Priorities, Restitution Surveyed

AU2610142790 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Oct 90 p 2

["CTK, ZR"-signed report: "The Main Problem: Czech-Slovak Relations"]

[Text] The relationship between Czechs and Slovaks is considered to be the biggest domestic political problem in our country. This was revealed by a survey conducted by the Prague Institute for Public Opinion Research [IVVM] in the middle of the year. The survey was based on replies by 1,000 CSFR citizens over 18.

One in ten respondents believes that one of the main current problems is how to treat former representatives of the totalitarian regime. More than 25 percent of those questioned were of the opinion that the relevant functionaries ought to be punished for unlawful acts committed in the past. The most widely held view (51 percent) was, however, that they deserve punishment not only for the above acts but also for wrong political decisions, many of which apparently have in the eyes of the public the nature of criminal acts. It is thus clear that the public does not consider the past of the exponents of the former regime to be a closed chapter and feels the need to come to terms with it once and for all.

The restitution of property to former owners was another topic of an IVVM survey. The replies of 714 CSFR citizens above 15 were analyzed in this survey, which was conducted in the first half of October. Almost one-half of respondents (44 percent) declared that their or one of their relatives' property was illicitly expropriated after 1948. More than one-half of these people (53 percent) will seek the restitution of this property. Almost the same proportion of respondents [whose property had been confiscated] replied that they do not want to have their expropriated assets back or that they do not yet know what they will do.

Exports of Agricultural Produce Restricted

AU2610141290

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 23 October on page 5 carries a 600-word Marcela Vanorna article entitled "Imported Feed More Expensive." The article deals with the impact of the recent devaluation of the koruna on Czechoslovak agriculture. Vanorna says that the devaluation has "complicated further the already difficult situation of agriculture and the food industry." For example, the price of crushed soybeans, of which Czechoslovakia imports 300,000 to 400,000 tonnes annually, went up from 3,500-4,000 korunas per tonne to 5,200-6,000 korunas. The price of corn, of which Czechoslovakia imports 300,000 tonnes annually, has gone up similarly. Vanorna quotes Jan Syc, deputy general director of the Agricultural Supplies and Procurement Enterprise, as saying that, according to preliminary calculations, his enterprise will be unable to import the contractually agreed amount of agrochemicals and feed this year because it is short 200 million korunas in foreign exchange. Syc points out that even the contractually agreed amount represents only 80 percent of the "original plan drawn up according to farmers' most essential demands."

Vanorna concedes that, from next year on, imports of feed mixtures will no longer be subject to quotas set by the state but that agricultural enterprises will be able to import as much as they can afford to pay. She points out, however, that in practice this possibility will be "severely limited" because of restrictions imposed on exports by agricultural enterprises (and, hence, on their hard currency earnings). Vanorna says: "A list of items has been published which must not be freely exported; a special permit is required to be granted an exemption. The list includes, for example, hops, lentils, beans, slaughtered poultry, lamb, caraway seeds, meat and meat products including canned meat, flour, cereals, powdered and condensed milk, cheese, as well as live cattle, hogs, and game."

Speaking about the efforts of agricultural enterprises to obtain hard currency for essential imports, Vanorna mentions that the Agricultural Supplies and Procurement Enterprise has exported 170,000 tonnes of bread wheat to the Soviet Union for hard currency.

Svoboda Writes to Havel Over CPCZ Property

AU2510112690 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Oct 90 p 2

["za"-signed report: "Jiri Svoboda Proposes to the CSFR President a Roundtable on Property"]

[Text] Prague—Jiri Svoboda, chairman of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, sent a letter to

Vaclav Havel, CSFR president, concerning the proposed bill on the expropriation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] assets. He states in it, among other things, that as of 17 October the party owned property worth 2.6 billion korunas.

"We are ready to hand over another more than one-half of this property," the chairman of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia writes. He points out that the basic rights of citizens and institutions were expanded by constitutional means in April 1990, especially with respect to the equality of all forms of ownership and the protection of property against nationalization without compensation. "This is why I do not consider it appropriate to call this constitutional amendment in question, even before it has entered the legal awareness of citizens, by the adoption of a constitutional law defying this very constitutional principle [that no property may be nationalized without compensation].

"We must not ignore our legal reputation and credibility in Europe, which expects Czechoslovakia to guarantee general protection of property and investments, also in its own interest. As a matter of fact, it is not deemed possible in Western democracies for a party which emerges victorious from political struggle to hold the defeated party or government accountable not only politically, but even materially."

In his letter J. Svoboda confirms the CPCZ's sincere effort to come to a settlement with the demands of the public and proposes the holding of a roundtable with [other] political parties in order to reach agreement on the basic material aspects of the activity of political parties. "We pursue no other aim than to guarantee the existence of a political party that has more than 500,000 members and whose candidates were given the confidence of more than 1.5 million voters in this year's elections," J. Svoboda writes.

Havel Comments on Constitutional Discussion

LD2510201190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] President Vaclav Havel paid a visit to the meeting of the social policy and health care committee of the Czech National Council this afternoon. He briefed the deputies about the New York summit, where he signed the declaration for the protection of children's rights. He also answered questions from committee members. The questions concerned the drafting of the new constitution, Czechoslovakia's international position, relations between Czechs and Slovaks, and his planned Sunday meeting with the representatives of the three governments and the main political forces. President Vaclav Havel said:

[Begin Havel recording] Much depends on the current development of events. As you know, since 0800 this morning right to this moment, the Slovak National Council, your colleagues, have been arguing about the language law. I do not know whether they actually voted. I do not have the latest news. Much depends on the outcome of this debate. Much also depends on the result of the meeting which we are to hold on Sunday morning in Moravia, at which will be the Federal premier, two national premiers, and the chairmen of the three federal coalition parties—the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH], Public Against Violence [VPN], and Civic Forum [OF]. Some kind of a joint fundamental stand on the constitutional future of our state should be adopted. The development of the new proposal for the division of power which was brought to Prague by Premier Meciar on Monday, and with which he slightly surprised his colleagues, also matters.

All these matters are open. I would not like to assess them in a conclusive way because they are constantly changing and developing. In summing them up, I would say roughly the following: We are passing through the biggest test of the constitutional existence of our state in terms of legal matters from international law viewpoint. I have a feeling that this test will turn out well in the end. It is an important test. Rallies attended by dozens of thousands of people have been held throughout the day in Bratislava. The Slovak National Council has been under siege round the clock. It seems to me that all will turn out well in the end.

Nevertheless, when speaking about the other point—Czechoslovakia's international position—one must call things their proper name and hide nothing, for it is precisely this point which is the main reason for all doubts about Czechoslovakia. Whether it is the EC, the Council of Europe, the IMF, any kind of international institution, foreign government, or an entrepreneur, everyone is playing the wait-and-see game. Everyone is hesitant and says: I will not get involved with you until I have the assurance that you are a body which is going to be responsible for its actions in the future. [end recording]

Commission Disputes Candidate Screening Decision

LD2510215490 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Czech Election Commission members met today and discussed their standpoint on yesterday's Federal Assembly resolution about the screening of candidates for the local elections. In the resolution, the Federal Assembly asks the Federal Government to compare the lists of candidates with the list of secret collaborators of the State Security, and to present the results to the Czech and Slovak National Councils and relevant bodies.

The Czech Election Commission reached the conclusion that it does not deem itself bound by this Federal Assembly decision. The commission does not agree with it because it is not within the realm of the Federal Assembly to interfere in the elections to the local representative bodies, since these elections are being held in the framework of legislation passed by the national councils.

The commission s standpoint points out that the adoption of this resolution could impede the preparations and

course of the elections, because already there are cases of candidates offering their resignation as a consequence of general reservations about the said resolution. According to the election law, resignation of one's candidacy cannot be revoked. There is therefore a danger of the candidate's lists collapsing.

Klaus Adviser Outlines Civic Forum Changes

AU2510141490 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 22 Oct 90 p 2

[Report on an interview with Petr Havlik, adviser to Vaclav Klaus, by Karel Kovanda; place and date not given: "The Civic Forum Will Be a Party Within a Year"]

[Text] Engineer Petr Havlik, an adviser to Minister Vaclav Klaus who now spends much of his time dealing with the Civic Forum's [OF] problems, gave us some information about the OF's future organizational plans.

According to him, deputies will form the OF's political background. They alone have the voters' mandate and represent the OF's "imaginary membership base" as a political party. In this connection, the establishment of the Interparliamentary Club of the Democratic Right was very important. This group has separated itself from the wishy-washy hopes still associated in some way with socialism. Today there are 80 deputies in this group, approximately half from the Federal Assembly and half from the Czech National Council. However, the OF's new leadership and the club's influence must be reflected in the parliaments. There will be some reorganization, then, in the Federal Assembly Presidium; Kucera will no longer be chairman of the OF Parliamentary Club in the Federal Assembly and Kotrly will no longer have this role in the Czech National Council. Rudolf Zukal, Milos Zeman, and Valtr Komarek—according to Engineer Havlik—will no longer chair their respective parliamentary committees.

Changes will also take place in the Spalicek building, the Prague headquarters of the OF Coordinating Center. The only legitimate organ in the Spalicek building is the OF Council because it is elected. However, according to Engineer Havlik, this organ is "very weak." Therefore, changes will be made. New representatives will be sent to the council from local organizations where necessary. The OF Political Club, "a kind of internal National Front," will be completely abolished. The OF representatives—until now the quartet of Petr Kucera, Dasa Havlova, Vojtech Sedlacek, and Martin Palous—will also disappear. Incidentally, Palous has already been appointed deputy foreign minister. Havlova is going to the United States and Kucera is in parliament. The overflowing apparatus of 120 people is "intolerable." It will be necessary to give it a clear working content and to exercise control over its work to ensure that its efficiency is obvious. Of course, no one wants purges; we have already had enough of these. However, it will be necessary "to create an environment giving people the stimulus to leave on their own," for instance, to found a more left-wing oriented group.

The OF Collegium with its senior government and parliamentary officials originally represented a specific accumulation of executive power. There was a notion that when the collegium agreed on something in the evening, the next day it would become valid. For example, in the issue of border contacts with Poland. However, in the future the collegium will not interfere in this way with the ministries' specialist jurisdiction. It will be limited to discussions on conceptual matters.

It is necessary to turn the OF into a "party of an electoral type within a year and a day." The idea of a district chairman is envisaged. He will provide an information service: For example, he will write to district newspapers, but will not be a substitute for district authorities. A management team of five people will create this plan, but there will be no inflated apparatus. The OF has to become the "showcase" for the program which it is resolved to follow. This program, along with other documents, will be submitted to the next assembly which should meet on 10 December. The OF will be represented by "disciplined, diligent, and responsible people."

Civic Forum Chairman Addresses Prague Meeting

LD2610091790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] The future political orientation of the Prague Civic Forum organization and its structure is being discussed at an assembly in Prague by delgates from the Prague districts. Vaclav Klaus, Civic Forum [OF] chairman and Federal Minister of Finance, pointed out in the discussion that OF should not engage in purges, but on the other hand it has to set some limits.

He voiced the hope that the OF organization in Prague will pull itself together and take the right standpoint in choosing its political line. Vaclav Klaus said that OF's newly shifted political orientation, which was made clear at the recent republican-level congress, is of key importance.

Slovak National Council Debates Language Bill

Slovaks Threaten General Strike

LD2510143390 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1340 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Unidentified correspondent's report on Slovak National Council session in Bratislava—live]

[Excerpts] Various slogans are being heard outside the Slovak National Council addressed to Slovak National Council representatives. [passage omitted] When Mr. Carnogusky, first deputy Slovak prime minister, spoke the citizens gathered there expressed their disagreement

by whistling and calling for his resignation. If the "Matica" version of the bill is not approved, the participants will call for the resignation of the Slovak National Council and the holding of new free elections.

Here we have one petition. It seems that the patience of those who have come here to the Slovak National Council is being worn thin by the long proceedings. Proof of this is the fact that Milan Zemko, deputy chairman of the Slovak National Council, received a group of citizens from all of Slovakia who represent the people outside the Slovak language "without exceptions." I shall quote from the petition:

We demand that the Slovak National Council not prolong deliberations on this basic legal rule and decide immediately, at its session held on 25 October 1990, on the submitted drafts of the bill. If the Slovak National Council does not adopt the draft bill on the official language—that is the "Matica" version, we believe that deputies are against the nation and thus we demand the resignation of the Slovak National Council and the holding of new elections. Then, we will also demand the resignation of the government of the Slovak Republic which has drafted the so called "coalition" version, in cooperation with coalition government parties, thus clearly demonstrating its negative attitude toward the nation. If the "Matica" version is not adopted we call and appeal to all Slovaks, throughout, the Slovak Republic, to hold a nationwide strike. The decision of the Slovak National Council on the issue is expected by us by 1600 [1500 GMT] today.

[Signed] 12 citizens from all Slovakia.

That much for the petition.

Council Passes Language Law

LD2510214690 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2100 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] After 12 hours of deliberations, the Slovak National Council approved today, with certain comments, the bill of a group of deputies to issue a law on an official language in the Slovak Republic. Slovak National Party [SNS] Deputy Marian Andel designated the adopted coalition bill—a bill discriminating against the Slovaks in southern Slovakia—and said that, in protest, SNS deputies would leave the premises. The meeting of the Slovak National Council adjourned. The statement of the SNS, adopted at the meeting in front of the building of the Slovak National Council, demands speedy resignation of the council and the subsequent resignation of the Slovak Government.

Deputy Slovak Premier Jozef Kucerak told the journalist that this assembly cannot issue decisions on the language bill. it can be done by a parliament elected properly, in a democratic way.

Reacting to the address of the chairman of the SNS, Federal Assembly Deputy Vitazoslav Moric, was parliament Deputy Chairman Zdenek Jicinsky. He said that the behavior of deputy Moric in this connection borders on criminal law, if it does not actually infringe upon it.

Moric Urges Civil Disobedience

LD2510215990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2000 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Slovak National Party Chairman Vitazoslav Moric has addressed the thousands of people gathered in front of the Slovak National Council building in Bratislava where the Slovak language law is being discussed. He stated that since the Slovak National Council did not approve the draft proposed by Matica Slovenska and thereby ignored the will of the majority of the Slovak people, he considered this session of the Slovak National Council as lacking legitimacy and being incapable of championing the interests of the Slovak nation. He went on to call for the council's deputies to resign, for new parliamentary elections to be held, and for access to the media, and announced that protests—including acts of civil disobedience—would be held until a new Slovak parliament was constituted.

Deputy Premiers Comment on Power-Sharing Bill

LD2510102990 Prague Television Service in Czech 2125 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Yesterday's meeting of Slovak Government representatives in Prague sent ripples through, shall we say, the already troubled waters of domestic political life. The only thing we found out yesterday was that it concerned the division of powers between the republics and the federation, and nothing more, because none of the members of the government or the deputies told us anything specific.

However, a working version of that bill appeared yesterday, and the Slovak representatives arrived in Prague bearing it with them. It can be assumed at least that at all yesterday's meetings, arguments both for and against the bill were heard, and proof of this is the stormy discussion at the parliamentary seminar of Civic Forum and Public Against Violence deputies.

Sitting with me here now in the studio in Prague is Czech Deputy Premier Frantisek Vlasak; and Slovak Deputy Premier Jozef Kucerak should also be in Bratislava now.

The politicians yesterday gave the impression that they had nothing further to say on the matter, nothing specific. Was that only an impression, or was it really the case, Mr. Deputy Chairman?

[Vlasak] Yesterday, a new bill for power-sharing between the Federal and national governments was put forward by the Slovak Government which fundamentally respected the problems we agreed on in Trencianske Teplice, Piestany, and Kromeriz, but in certain respects it exceeded those agreements.

[Announcer] In what respects?

[Vlasak] Well, it raised some new problems which I will talk about in a moment, and of course we took and still take the view that these new problems must once again be tackled on a tripartite basis; that means not only between the national governments, but also with the Federal Government. We agreed on that very quickly—I must stress that our Slovak friends accepted that view, so we were immediately able to break down the whole problem. I must say that the working cooperation, if I may say so, was truly excellent between the ministers who met for that purpose; we concluded the work a few hours ago by identifying the problems where there are no contradictions, and I will tell you at random which ones they are: foreign policy, taxes, communications, labor and social affairs, statistics, energy, hard currency policy, foreign economic relations, agriculture, metallurgy, fuel, prices, and so forth. These are undoubtedly problems where we can proceed to work out legislative amendments to the constitutional laws.

[Announcer] So where are the fundamental problems? I would like to address this question to Bratislava.

[Kucerak, in Slovak] Well, there are still certain problems here, but I would not say that they are fundamental problems. Of the areas on which we agreed in Trencianske Teplice, I would say that there is still work to be done on banking, and central banking, because a number of misunderstandings came to light there, where we suspected each other, or we were suspected, of wanting special issuing operations, and special republican banks. Here we agreed that we must work out a system similar to the central banking system in the German Federal Republic. I think that in this case that system can be an example for us, and then people will cease to suspect that what we want is some kind of separate issuing operations or some other currencies or different currencies in our republic.

[Announcer] Gentlemen, if I may, I would like to put one question to both Prague and Bratislava. Perhaps our information is incorrect, but nonetheless we heard that yesterday during the seminar in parliament, the Civic Forum [OF] deputies walked out into corridor and, in a certain degree of anger, started banging on the wall—in short, passions had hit the roof. What I would like to ask you is this: Is it not true that everything we are talking about here is tending toward a confederation, instead of strengthening the national republics within the federation?

[Vlasak] No, I don't think so at all. The Czech Government's standpoint conforms fully with that of the Federal Government. A confederation has completely different aspects, and I would say that the problems which remain unresolved, in other words the problem of the banking system, railway transport, the press, radio and television—and that is something which affects you, and problems of specifying ownership by the republics, antimonopoies and so forth—in short, there are six areas of such problems, and for that purpose we have set up groups of three ministers, in each case of the Federal and both national governments, which, within the timeframes we have stipulated, will break down these problems and try to resolve them. If we can manage to resolve them in the timeframe we have stipulated, we will incorporate them into legislative amendments. What we cannot resolve within that timeframe, we will adjourn until some later stage which need not be determined now, but in no case would I wish to dramatize things. The Federal Assembly has gone a long way toward accommodating our needs by extending the deadline for submitting the bill to 20 November. The existing deadline was 25 October, but of course we would be unable to make enough progress for that deadline.

[Announcer] Now let us go over to Bratislava for an answer to the same question.

[Kucerak, in Slovak] Well, if I may, I will return to the problem of the confederation. Anyone who understands the philosophy behind the change in the law on jurisdiction will eventually find that it is our aim to strengthen the federation, but on the basis of different relations. This is because so far, the federation has been built on administrative principles and on linking together certain material assets, but it is our aim to strengthen the federation on the basis of certain principles of a common market of goods, money, capital, and the movement of individuals, and on the basis of joint or federal legislation in the area of payable duties, money, sickness provision, pension provision—I think that with regulations such as these, the federation will be stronger than hitherto, when we believed that the federation was fulfilled by ministries taking charge of communications, energy, and fuels. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] A question for Bratislava: Have you agreed on the date for your next meeting, and can you tell us when it is?

[Kucerak, in Slovak] Yes, the ministers dealing with the unresolved areas and those which are slightly beyond the framework of the agreements we made in Trencianske Teplice have already begun working today and tomorrow, so there is constant consultation between the ministers and between the representatives of the political movements; to be specific, between Public Against Violence [VPN] and OF.

[Announcer] One more question, if I may, for Bratislava. Are the current, shall we say, coalition disagreements between VPN and the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH], between the [Slovak] premier and the [Slovak] minister of interior, coloring the standpoint of the Slovak Government on this issue in any way?

[Kucerak, in Slovak] So far this has not happened, and I do not think it will do so. This is a matter of the competence of one minister, and it has no connection whatsoever with the coalition relations within our government.

[Announcer] A last question, Mr. Deputy Premier: What role do the national councils play here?

[Vlasak] In our timetable we envisage that after these problems have been resolved, the whole document will be discussed by the Czech Government and it will then present this package for discussion by the Czech National Council, and we have a similar agreement with our Slovak friends, and then it will go to the Federal Government and the Federal Assembly. We have the timetable worked out in detail.

[Announcer] Thank you both, gentlemen, for coming into the studios.

Authentic Slovak National Party Explains Founding

LD2510161990 Prague CTK in English 1515 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Bratislava Oct 25 (CTK)—Authentic Slovak National Party Preparatory Committee Chairman Augustin Marko said that the party sees "freedom, prosperity, and peaceful life of the Slovak nation in mutual cooperation of Czechs and Slovaks in a common state within the safe borders."

He told a press conference here today that efforts to found the party result from a public opinion poll according to which only one-third out of the members of the existing Slovak National Party [SNS], led by Vitazoslav Moric, and only 10.5 per cent of all the Slovaks, totalling over five million, favour an independent Slovak state.

The reason for the establishment of the Authentic Slovak National Party is to avert the danger of the Slovak nation being dragged into misery under the veil of false national interests.

The Authentic Slovak National Party wants to follow up the traditions of the original SNS of the years 1870-1938. It wants to develop its activity within the Czechoslovak Federation of two sovereign republics and act towards bringing the Slovak and the Czech nations closer to one another, Marko stressed.

VEREJNOST Staff Elects New Chief Editor

AU2510105390

[Editorial Report] Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak on 22 October on pages 1 and 2 carries a 1,000-word article entitled "A Word to the Readers." The authors of the article—Peter Duhan, Luba Lesna, and Lubos Kriz—introduce themselves as the "new leadership of VEREJNOST" that is taking over "today." As they point out, they were elected by the VEREJNOST editorial staff. The VEREJNOST masthead reveals that Peter Duhan is the newspaper's new chief editor and Luba Lesna and Lubomir Kriz his deputies (the masthead of the previous 20 October issue of VEREJNOST refers to Jozef Ruttkay as chief editor and Lubomir Micko as his deputy). The 22 October article does not provide any explanation for Ruttkay's departure; it only refers to the public's declining confidence "in us" (it is not clear whether the Public Against Violence, VPN, movement as the publisher of VEREJNOST or the newspaper itself is meant) and to the need "to step out of the shadow of buck-passing pseudo-objectivity; to stop confusing chaos of views with independence; not to hide any longer behind the convenient tutorship of our political publisher; not to wait for his instructions, but to develop his platform independently, in a competent journalistic way, and with the natural and beneficial right to express a critical opinion." The new VEREJNOST leadership expresses the hope that the newspaper will become a "platform unifying all democratic and civic forces in Slovakia."

Deputy Premier Previews Calfa Talks in Moscow

LD2510224890 Prague CTK in English 2113 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 25 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa's talks with Soviet leaders in Moscow next Tuesday will concern Soviet supplies of raw materials and fulfillment of commitments of a September 1 intergovernmental agreement on trade and economic relations, Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Vaclav Vales told the federal cabinet meeting today.

He said the Czechoslovak delegation will include Federal Economics Minister Vladimir Dlouhy, the Czech and Slovak ministers of industry and experts at the level of deputy ministers of foreign trade, economics, and finance.

The last September 1 agreement on trade and economic relations envisaged the conclusion of payments and banking agreements.

Czechoslovakia intends to discuss Soviet conditions concerning an offer by the Federal republic of Germany to include Czechoslovak building firms in housing construction in the USSR within the framework of FRG's commitment.

Exports of Uranium to USSR Discontinued

AU2610133590 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 23 Oct 90 p 2

[Unattributed Moscow dispatch: "It Should Have Come Earlier"]

[Text] In connection with the warming of the international atmosphere, the Soviet defense industry no longer needs Czechoslovak uranium, A. Shishkin, general director of the Soviet Tekhsnabeksport enterprise, told the Soviet IAN (formerly NOVOSTI) Agency. He confirmed information published in the CSFR that, as of the beginning of 1991, the Soviet Union will not import Czechoslovak uranium, except for amounts required for reprocessing for the needs of the Czechoslovak nuclear power industry, which is a common practice in relations with Western partners. He refused to mention how much the Soviet Union will receive for the provision of these services. The suspension of exports of Czechoslovak uranium to the USSR was reported by J. Svoboda, general director of the Czechoslovak Uranium Industry Pribram, on 12 October. In an interview for CTK he

stated, among other things, that uranium "used to be sold somewhat uneconomically." The state treasury had to subsidize every unit of uranium exported to the USSR with about 60 percent of the price.

Presidential Spokesman on Sudeten Germans' Warning

AU2510175790 Prague CTK in English 1331 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 23 (CTK)—Czechoslovak presidential press spokesman Michael Zantovsky said here today that President Vaclav Havel has several times spoken for certain moral satisfaction to be offered to the Sudeten Germans transferred from Czechoslovakia after World War II, but "other kinds of satisfaction are a matter that must be studied."

At a briefing here today, Michael Zantovsky responded to a letter addressed last week to Vaclav Havel by spokesman for the Sudeten German Landsmannschaft Franz Neubauer warning that Czechoslovakia's unilateral steps in the matter of Sudeten Germans' property would mean failure of endeavor for settlement and reconciliation, and that this question is not yet resolved.

After the war, about 2.4 million of the over 3 million-strong German community were transferred from Czechoslovakia to Germany.

Commenting on the developments in Yugoslavia, Mr. Zantovsky said that any crisis in this country would not benefit cooperation within the Pentagonal which associates, in addition to Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, also Hungary, Austria, and Italy.

Asked about Prague Castle's stand on the removal of Communist Deputy Vasil Mohorita from the Czechoslovak Parliament Presidium yesterday, the presidential press spokesman said that the parliament emerged from democratic elections, is a sovereign body, and the Presidential Office has no power to challenge its decisions.

The same applies to the dispute between Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar and Slovak Interior Minister Anton Andras. The Slovak premier demands the minister's resignation for alleged incompetence. The demand is strongly opposed by the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) whose support Mr. Andras enjoys. Meciar's Public Against Violence (VPN) and KDH are two of the three Slovak Government coalition parties, the third being the Democratic Party.

Michael Zantovsky also spoke about the letter President Vaclav Havel recently received from Soviet soldier Aleksandr Maslyaev asking him for permission to permanently live in Czechoslovakia. President Havel is now working on a reply in which he will tell Maslyaev that he will be welcome in Czechoslovakia after he has completed his military service.

Aleksandr Maslyaev, who was in Czechoslovakia with the Soviet troops, stationed in the country since the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, asked for political asylum in Czechoslovakia last April. Later, he disclaimed the demand and was taken back to the Soviet Union to finish his military service in his homeland.

French Minister on Cooperation in TV Programming

LD2610093590 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Alain Decaux, French minister in charge of Francophone affairs, paid a visit to Czechoslovak Television today. He had talks on furthering cooperation between Czechoslovak Television and four French television companies. The French minister voiced satisfaction with the existing development of Czechoslovak-French cooperation in television, because for the French side this is its most wide-ranging cooperative venture in Central and Eastern Europe, and for Czechoslovak Television it is its widest-ranging foreign cooperative venture overall.

Mr. Decaux also voiced the hope that with the help of subtitling equipment which the French Government has provided for Czechoslovak Television, the showing of French programs will be expanded on the F1 [Federal] and CTV [Czech] Television channels.

Calfa Addresses European Management Conference

LD2510223590 Prague CTK in English 1929 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 25 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa said that success of the economic reform which is to introduce a market economy in Czechoslovakia "depends to a considerable extent on the influx of foreign capital."

Addressing the 2nd European Congress on Management, so far the biggest East-West meeting of managers which ended here today, he pledged that the government would respect the goals of foreign entrepreneurs and would be "liberal to the greatest degree" towards their operations in Czechoslovakia. He pointed out that the activity of firms with a 100 percent foreign capital has been put on legal basis in Czechoslovakia. He said, however, that a law on foreign investments in Czechoslovakia was necessary.

Calfa appealed to European and world firms to be responsible for the future development of Europe, its central and eastern part, i.e. the former Soviet bloc countries. "If we consider the boom of all-European cooperation, then we must avoid the variant threatening with further polarization of the continent, this time not due to political but economic reasons," the premier said.

When reviewing the 2nd congress on management "Cecios 90" (European Committee of the World Council of Management), Chairman of the Congress Committee Ondrej Landa said that this event was the biggest from the point of view of participating East-West managers as well as from that of the bulk of information provided at plenary sessions, seminars, etc.

Mr. Landa underlined the participation of prominent entrepreneurs which was really unique in Czechoslovak conditions. Participating in the congress were, for instance, Professor Henry Mintzberg, World Bank Vice-President Willi Wapenhans and many other personalities.

Within the framework of this event many foreigners interested in investments and joint enterprise arrived in Czechoslovakia, Landa said.

Havel Sends Message to Conventional Weapons Talks

LD2510152190 Prague CTK in English 1422 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Vienna Oct 25 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel has said in his message to the Vienna talks on conventional weapons that the essential transformation of the Warsaw Pact will be completed at the talks of its Political Consultative Committee in Budapest (which will probably be held after the Paris summit of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe in November).

President Havel said in the message, read to the talks plenary session by Czechoslovak parliament deputy chairman and chairman of the House of Nations, Milan Sutovec, today that the military structure of the Warsaw Pact will be abolished and the Pact will fulfill only a consultative political function with emphasis on disarmament during a limited period.

Vaclav Havel stressed that the treaty on conventional weapons, which is being completed by the NATO and Warsaw Pacts, will rid Europe of the burden of dozens of thousands of weapons.

Czechoslovakia links great hopes to the Paris CSCE summit, which will mark an important milestone in building a new security structure in Europe, and will fully support the joint effort in this sense, the president's message said.

ROK Reportage on Dienstbier Visit

WA2610144190

[Text] For ROK reportage on the visit to the Republic of Korea by Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier, including reports on talks between Dienstbier and Foreign Minister Choe Ho-chung and Deputy Prime Minister Yi Sung-yun, see the South Korea section of the 26 October and subsequent issues of the East Asia DAILY REPORT.

Briefing on Antall's Condition, Gas Prices

LD2510172290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Gabor Bankuti report on 25 October news briefing; place not given]

[Excerpts] A liter of normal gasoline will be 56 forints, four-star gasoline will cost 59 forints, unleaded will cost 61 forints, and extra petrol will cost 62 forints. [passage omitted] One reason for the increase is that the Soviet Union reduced its deliveries; because of this, 1 million tonnes of crude oil have had to be bought on the free market already, and a further 600-700 thousand tonnes will have to be bought the same way.

Regarding the electricity supply, the Soviet Union has surpassed its pledge so far, but recently, especially in peak periods, problems have occured. These have not affected the consumption of the population for the time being.

Starting in November, the production prices will also increase, also for gas, but the consumer price for gas will remain the same this year. Government support will increase.

At the afternoon briefing, information was given about the condition of the prime minister. Jozsef Antall had a minor operation. His condition is good; his treatment will take 10 to 14 days. [passage omitted]

Regarding the Budapest-Vienna World Expo, the government decided that about 10 billion forints will be available for this purpose from the budget. The infrastructure investments have to be realized with the involvement of foreign capital and, if necessary, with concessions. Prior to the final decision, the opinion of the metropolitan general assembly will be sought.

Striking Taxi Drivers Cause Traffic Disruptions

LD2610084690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0700 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Excerpts] Here in Hungary, the price of gasoline has gone up by 65 percent on average as of today. [passsage omitted]

Interior Minister Balazs Horvath, who currently is deputizing for Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, is sitting down to meet with representatives of the taxi drivers. The taxi drivers, in protest against the rise of gasoline prices which came into force at midnight yesterday, are hampering or paralyzing traffic in Budapest and several towns in the provinces. Gyor can be entered, but it is impossible to leave.

The taxi drivers have organized a slow down in Debrecen and, according to some information, the taxi drivers have closed off some highways leading towards the border.

Yesterday, Csaba Siklos, head of the transportation ministry, and Finance Minister Ferenc Rabar held talks with the taxi drivers and told them that the government was in a situation of constraint when it decided on raising the price of gasoline and that it was not possible to repeal this. Sandor Barna, Budapest police chief, told us this morning that the police are trying to make the movement of traffic possible in the capital, although not through force.

Police Chief Considers Using Force

LD2610085190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0800 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Text] There is a danger in Budapest that mass transportation could collapse since the taxi drivers have closed off not only the bridges but also the most important intersections in protest against the rise in gasoline prices. Subway trains are following one another at two-minute intervals, but there is such congestion that it is difficult to get down to the underground stations.

The Budapest's police chief told MTI that they are trying to maintain normal traffic patterns, and they are not dismissing the possibility of restoring order through force, if necessary.

Interior Minister Balazs Horvath, who currently is deputizing for Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, received representatives of the taxi drivers at 0800 today. These representatives are demanding a withdrawal of the rise in gasoline prices.

According to the taxi drivers, vehicles with special markings are allowed across the bridges, but this was contradicted by a telephone call from a doctor at Orfy Hospital, who asks the taxi drivers to allow cars transporting oxygen cylinders across the bridges, because otherwise patients' lives will be endangered.

A correspondent has reported from Tatabanya that the town has been virtually sealed off since 0800 because not only taxi drivers, but enterprise, factory, and private cars have joined the action to close off the road. Travelers should avoid the Tatabanya region because they will not be able to get through, either on the M-1 motorway or on the old route.

Minister Hears Drivers' Demands

LD2610085690 Budapest MTI in English 0640 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Text] Budapest, October 25 (MTI)—On Thursday evening, hundreds of private taxi drivers gathered in Budapest, in Heroes' Square, to protest against the price hike of petrol, announced just a few hours earlier. The long line of cars then drove to Lajos Kossuth Square, in front of parliament building.

Csaba Siklos, minister of transportation, telecommunications and water management, left parliament building, where the government session was in progress, to listen

to the demands of the taxi drivers. A spokesman for the drivers said that, in their view, this degree of raising petrol prices by now threatens their livelihood, therefore, they ask the government to revoke the measure.

Mr Siklos said this was not possible, as the government is in a coercive situation, it has no reserves with which it could cover the price of crude oil that must be imported to make up for the loss in Soviet deliveries. Mr Siklos added that one of the aims of the price hike was to compel drivers to save petrol.

Representatives of the taxi drivers indicated that protest demonstrations would probably continue.

Talks Break Off; Police To Clear Bridges

LD2610102190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Text] In Budapest, talks between government representatives and the taxi drivers have broken off. At midday, the police will begin to clear the bridges. Interior Minister Balazs Horvath affirmed that the government decision is irrevocable, but that it is willing to conduct further negotiations.

Balazs Horvath has called the action by the private drivers illegal, and he indicated that, as deputy for the prime minister, he will do his utmost to restore order. The taxi drivers indicated, after the government decision, that they will continue their protest action.

Bridge Clearing Postponed

LD2610122790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1200 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Text] Interior Minister Balazs Horvath said that the police action to clear the bridges and roads is postponed for the time being.

Representatives of the government and the private conveyors are negotiating at this moment. Representatives of the taxi drivers confirmed that they would like the government to suspend the present gasoline prices until new negotiations can be held on Monday. In this case, they promise to restore normal traffic conditions in the country within three hours.

Radio Reports Impact of Strike

LD2610113490

[Editorial Report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 1000 GMT on 26 October carries a roundup of reports concerning the impact of the current taxi drivers' strike over gasoline prices.

The Ministry of Social Welfare has appealed to participants in the protest to allow ambulances through the barricades, even if they do not contain patients, for the sake of other patients. The situation is reported as "critical" in the National Institute of Traumatology, since blood preparations and sterile equipment necessary for operations have not been received. Similar appeals for the demonstrators to allow ambulances and doctors in private cars to pass through barricades were issued in Kecskemet, Bekescsaba, Miskolc and Szeged.

The reporter says: "The Ministry of Defense asks private drivers taking part in the national protest action to enable loading work at railway stations and to ensure free passage in the surroundings of the freight stations in the interest of the smooth implementation of the Soviet troop withdrawal.... The smooth loading of the Soviet troops' equipment is running into difficulty, primarily in Szekesfehervar and Gyomro. It is requested that there should be coordination in this matter with experts from the Army who are on the spot."

In the countryside, Szekesfehervar and Tatabanya cannot be approached, and the situation is similar in Szekszard. In Sfzekesfehervar, 400 taxi drivers and 400 deliverymen closed off the intersections. They were also joined by numerous enterprise workers and drivers of private cars. In Bekes, the roads leading out of the towns have been closed off; only ambulances and firemen are allowed through the cordon. Long-distance traffic has been paralyzed in Racs-Kiskun County. The roads leading out of Kecskemet have also been barricaded. In Budapest, only Chain Bridge is passable by car, although traffic on it is very slow.

At 0900 GMT, the radio says that government spokesman Balazs Laszlo told journalists that the taxi drivers' actions are illegal. The spokesman explained this by saying that they did not give 72 hours' advanced notice of the traffic obstructions and disruptions.

Border Crossings Closed by Strikers

LD2610140690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1200 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Text] With the exception of the Soviet border section, border traffic is paralyzed [by the taxi drivers' strike], said the spokesman of the Interior Ministry responsible for the border guards.

Protestors in Gyor, Sopron, and Kophaza only open the blockade for a few minutes every hour, and several other border crossings are completely inaccessible. It is also a problem that in Austria, today is a holiday; thus, Austrian tourists are coming to Hungary en masse.

Kadar Interviewed on Economic Difficulties

PM2610130890 Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 15 Oct 90 p 13

[Report on interview with International Economic Relations Minister Bela Kadar by Budapest correspondent Anna Pasztor; place and date not given]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Pasztor] What were economic conditions like when your government took office in May?

[Kadar] The new Hungarian Government inherited a difficult economic legacy. We must consider the nature of the economic policy of the past four decades, which was not in line with the country's capabilities, as well as the deficient institutional system. Apart from all this, there was also a foreign debt totaling almost $20.7 billion and an internal deficit of 51 billion forints. To properly understand the real scale of these figures, keep in mind that Hungary's total national product is about $29 billion and the average annual income is $2,800.

This is a criticism which must be made of those responsible for the events of the past half-century, because before World War II Hungary was among the countries of average development. In 1937 it contributed 0.65 percent of world trade, whereas now this percentage is just 0.31 percent. Apart from all this, the environmental damage is enormous and human resources have declined. We have some negative social indicators that are absolute records: We are first when it comes to per capital alcohol consumption, the divorce rate, and the decline in the birth rate. The economic recession that began in October 1989 was exacerbated over the past year by the fact that industrial output suffered a 12-percent decrease.

[Pasztor] What were the IMF's requirements in the agreement with Hungary?

[Kadar] The IMF developed, as it has everywhere, a program for restoring the balance of the budget. The budget deficit accepted by the IMF is 10 billion forints this year. Last year it totaled 52 billion forints, so this year we have to make a very large cut. Apart from this, the IMF is demanding that the balance of payments not exceed $400 million. Last year this figure was $1.4 billion.

[Pasztor] Is Hungary in a position to meet these demands set by the IMF?

[Kadar] We have met the requirement regarding the balance of payments. If it were not for the oil crisis—due to Iraq—and if trade with the East had not declined so quickly, we would have a good balance of payments. Moreover, this year we suffered a drought which cost $200 million.

[Pasztor] Is there a chance of reducing the 10-billion-forint deficit?

[Kadar] The government started negotiating with the IMF a week after it was formed, when it was not yet in possession of all the data. Nevertheless, by that time, the deficit had already exceeded 10 billion and reached 17 billion forints.

[Pasztor] Does that mean that the government reached an agreement with the IMF without knowing the scale of the deficit?

[Kadar] No; it was possible to make a forecast. The IMF signed an agreement with Hungary in March, when the finance minister of the time was talking about the existence of a deficit of 7 billion forints. In fact, a figure of 17 billion had already been reached.

[Pasztor] What was the inflation rate when the accord was finalized?

[Kadar] At that time the inflation rate was about 16 percent.

[Pasztor] What is the inflation rate forecast by the government?

[Kadar] When the government came to office there was already an inflation rate of 23 percent. It is likely to be close to 28 or 29 percent by the end of the year.

[Pasztor] Some people are talking in terms of an inflation rate above 30 percent. What is the present rate, in your opinion?

[Kadar] It is 28 to 29 percent, and it is impossible to calculate its increase in the next two and a half months. In most cases the acceleration of inflation has taken place as a result of external events, as mentioned before.

[Pasztor] Some believe that Hungary is trying to join the EEC and that, in an attempt to exploit the acquaintances and trade relations that it already had, it is trying to extend its international relations with a view to the time when CEMA disintegrates.

[Kadar] Tell us what we can exploit.

[PAsztor] What kind of relations will you maintain with the former CEMA countries? Can a closer connection among these countries survive?

[Kadar] The countries of Eastern and Central Europe will maintain a certain kind of cooperation in the field of energy infrastructures and the exchange of information, but their relations will become based on international rules and conducted on the basis of payments in dollars.

[Pasztor] What are the prospects for Hungary in the coming year?

[Kadar] The coming year will certainly be dominated by the consequences of the Gulf crisis, the reduction of oil exports from the USSR, and the introduction of the new system of payments. This latter alone will cause us to lose 1.5-2 billion [currency not specified]. Hungary, therefore, could find itself in serious difficulties in the future.

Electoral Commission Lists Presidential Candidates

LD2610053490 Warsaw PAP in English 0002 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 25—A deadline of accepting applications for presidential candidates passed at midnight today. Before 11.00 p.m., member of the State Electoral Commission and judge of the Supreme Court Edward Matwijow received documents necessary to register Stanislaw Tyminski, independent, and Leszek Moczluski of Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] as presidential candidates and before midnight these of Kornel Morawiecki, the fighting Solidarity leader.

Every application requires to be supported by at least 100,000 voters. The State Electoral Commission will meet tomorrow to examine Thursday applications. If it resolves to register the candidates, this will mean that the following persons will take part in the November 25 elections: Roman Bartoszcze of the Polish Peasant Union, Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz of the Parliamentary Democratic Left, Tadeusz Mazowiecki supported by the Citizens Movement of Democratic Action (ROAD), Leszek Moczulski, Kornel Morawiecki, Stanislaw Tyminski and Solidarity Leader Lech Walesa.

Senate Speaker Discusses Election, Institutions

PM2510151990 Lodz GLOS PORANNY in Polish 1 Oct 90 pp 1, 6

[Interview with Professor Andrzej Stelmachowski, Senate speaker, by GLOS PORANNY correspondent Henryk Sroczynski; place and date not given]

[Text] [Sroczynski] Mr. Speaker, your name has been mentioned among those of presidential candidates in the approaching election. Farmers associated in Solidarity have nominated you as a candidate....

[Stelmachowski] I know nothing about it. True, Solidarity farmers have put my name forward as a candidate, but there has been no official nomination.

[Sroczynski] Suppose you are officially nominated as a presidential candidate?

[Stelmachowski] I will consider it then.

[Sroczynski] In your opinion, will the election of a new president assuage existing conflicts and contribute to improving the situation in the country?

[Stelmachowski] In objective terms it will not, because it cannot change it for the better. On the other hand, if we look at it subjectively, it can provide a source of new hope for many people.

[Sroczynski] We are also preparing for the Sejm election contest, which, according to some commentators, will be very vigorously fought. Will that not have a destabilizing effect on the situation in the country?

[Stelmachowski] I do not think so. Our election campaigns are relatively mild compared to some of their equivalents in a number of democratic countries. We must become accustomed to the fact that there will normally be a certain degree of stir and bustle accompanying elections. It seems to me that at crucial turning points in our history, when momentous decisions are being made—and these are precisely the kind of events we will be facing now—people should express their sense of shared responsibility for the decisions under consideration. This will also provide us with indications for the future for each elected candidate. In this way, the latter will be able to assess the degree of support they can count on and to decide whether or not they should continue on the chosen course and whether or not they should make any adjustments to this course. I believe that we cannot combine a course oriented toward stabilization with the attitude of inaction. Consequently, there are many arguments for calling the parliamentary election and carrying it out comparatively early.

[Sroczynski] The misgivings I mentioned earlier can perhaps be attributed to the personalities aspect of the election campaign. This could prevail over the aspect of election programs....

[Stelmachowski] No, I do not share your misgivings. Very often a particular type of personality is identified with a particular course of action, and sometimes even with a specific detailed program. Such programs are usually addressed to busy, overworked people who are not particularly interested in politics. But programs do not appeal to people as strongly as the personalities of the candidates who represent them. Programs are needed by politicians and the more politically sophisticated social strata, whereas the wider reaches of the population are sometimes satisfied with a candidate's personal authority. He can inspire their confidence without their having to analyze the details of his program.

[Sroczynski] In your opinion, should the presidential statutory powers be extended? How do you envisage the president's position within the state system?

[Stelmachowski] As far as the present Constitution is concerned, the presidential powers need not be made more extensive. They are extensive enough already. However, it must be acknowledged here that President Wojciech Jaruzelski was extremely economical with the use of his powers. Nonetheless, considering the fact that no proper network of political parties has yet evolved in our society and that there is a strong chance that we will adopt an electoral law based on the principle of proportional representation, perhaps it would be useful to include one additional clause in the Constitution. This would concern the question of whether the president should not be invested with the power to dissolve parliament on the prime minister's recommendation.

[Sroczynski] How should we reconcile your opinion of President Jaruzelski with the sharply critical views

expressed about him by certain persons? Is it a case of courage becoming devalued?

[Stelmachowski] Of course courage has recently become greatly devalued, but at the same time there are strong public emotions involved here, and in a way these also constitute a political fact to be considered. People cannot forgive the general for the introduction of martial law.

[Sroczynski] The proposal submitted by Deputy Lopuszanski, which stipulated that President Jaruzelski's letter addressed to the upper house be accepted by deputies as his resignation from office, has caused wide repercussions. It was over this issue that the Citizens Parliamentary Club [OKP] split into groups representing opposing stands....

[Stelmachowski] It is not quite accurate to talk about an actual split in the OKP in connection with this issue. The development in question involved only a certain group of deputies from the Christian-National Association, who have indeed decided to pursue a separate policy of their own. However, they constitute only a very small group within the OKP.

[Sroczynski] Can we envisage the future political configuration of the next elected Sejm, assuming that the new electoral law adopts the principle of proportional representation? And would that indeed be the optimum system—which is what many people claim—for the newly developing democracy in Poland?

[Stelmachowski] Of course it would not. It would not be the optimum system because it would mean a complete destabilization of the government. It would encourage the emergence of entirely random election coalitions. Extreme proportional representation is positively harmful. On the other hand, we can cite a whole series of examples from other states which have introduced electoral law clauses to preclude that danger. For example, the FRG electoral law contains a proviso stipulating the minimum requirement of five percent of the votes, which provides a useful barrier against small parties' entering parliament. To begin with, perhaps we should lower the minimum threshold to some three to four percent. If we do not do that, I can easily imagine a Sejm incorporating 30 or so parties. And what would the result be? Complete chaos and confusion in the parliament's work.

[Sroczynski] Can we have identical electoral law for the Sejm and Senate elections?

[Stelmachowski] We have debated this question in the Senate. Eventually, the senators decided—I believe correctly—that, as long as the principle of selecting two senators from every voivodship (except for Warsaw and Katowice) is preserved, it is largely irrelevant which electoral law scheme is applied: majority or proportional representation. The final result is bound to show only a negligible difference between the two systems. For this reason, too, the Senate decided to keep its existing electoral law unchanged.

[Sroczynski] A heated Sejm debate followed the Democratic Party proposal to carry out—concurrently with the presidential election—a parallel nationwide referendum on the electoral system and the fundamental elements of the state political system and structures of the Polish Republic. Mr. Speaker, what is your opinion on the proposal to run such a referendum?

[Stelmachowski] In my opinion the whole issue is not suitable material for a referendum. Please remember that actual political structures are always very far removed from the average citizen's vision of how they are constructed and how they operate. The kind of referendum that has been proposed would make sense in a society having a very high degree of political sophistication and nurturing certain associated political traditions; above all else, it would be only feasible in a small country. For example, in Switzerland referendums are regularly held in individual cantons as a matter of course. On the other hand, when it comes to more complex matters, such as, for example, the state sociopolitical system, I do not believe that a referendum could be of any use at all. A referendum can be useful only if very simple questions are asked concerning very clear-cut and widely understood issues.

Realpolitik Union To Support Walesa Candidacy

LD2510234790 Warsaw PAP in English 2158 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 25—"The chief council of the Realpolitik Union thanks all who supported the candidature of Janusz Korwin-Mikke for Polish presidency. Unfortunately, we did not manage to reach the required number of supporters," reads the union's statement conveyed to PAP tonight.

"We hope that the next government will break the monopoly of the left-wing and rule Poland justly. Therefore, we are going to support Lech Walesa against any candidate of the left, whether it is Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz or Tadeusz Mazowiecki, hoping that he (Walesa) will provide conditions for the development of the system of economic and individual freedom," the statement reads.

Sila-Nowicki Ends Election Campaign

LD2610080190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2202 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] The central electoral staff of Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki has reported that he has ended his electoral campaign. It was not stated whether or not they had succeeded in gathering the required 100,000 signatures.

Mazowiecki's Campaign Staff Holds Press Conference

LD2510185590 Warsaw PAP in English 1741 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 25—"Next week will see a presentation of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's presidential program,"

Henryk Wozniakowski, the head of Mazowiecki's campaign staff announced at a press conference in Warsaw today.

The following was announced during the press conference:

—Mazowiecki was not a "puppet" prime minister and would not be a "puppet" president;

—Polls show two clear trends. The first: A majority of Poles think that Walesa will become president. Second: The majority of those who have made up their mind as to how they will vote, want to vote for Mazowiecki.

—It is not true that Mazowiecki's supporters are to be found only among white-collars and in the countryside. Both main contenders enjoy support among all social groups, though to a different extent.

—If Mazowiecki decided to run for president, it must have been because he thought that a situation in which he were president and Walesa in the opposition would be a better solution for Poland than the other way around.

Mazowiecki Meets Journalists' Representatives

LD2510224690 Warsaw PAP in English 1802 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 25—Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki today received the presidents of Poland's two journalists associations who acquainted him with the situation in the press corps against the backdrop of the changes taking place on the press market.

PAP Reports on 25 Oct Sejm Session

LD2510224590 Warsaw PAP in English 2137 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 25—Before the Sejm (lower house) had started on its agenda today, several questions were addressed to the Sejm speaker.

Deputy Waldemar Pawlak was interested in the draft laws on the radio and television. Mikolaj Kozakiewicz replied that the Sejm committees have not concluded work on them yet. The bills will be presented at the next Sejm sitting.

Deputy Jan Lopuszanski inquired about the motion addressed to the Sejm Presidium by over 40 deputies to consider a bill on the legal protection of a conceived child summarily.

The speaker said that the convention of seniors had concluded that it would not be good to consider this socially hot question during the difficult and stormy presidential campaign.

Draft amendments to the civil code signed by 66 deputies were submitted to the Sejm on Thursday. The two major changes project that each man acquires legal capacity on the moment of conception and that the law on abortion of 1956 becomes invalid.

Letters From President

The Sejm speaker officially announced that President Wojciech Jaruzelski had submitted two letters to the Sejm. The first one relates to the president's veto on the land bill. In the second one he asked the Sejm to urge the government to speed up work on an anti-alcoholism measures.

The president's notes were conveyed to the Sejm committees.

Sejm Supports Proportional Electoral Law

With 200 votes for the Sejm endorsed today a proportional electoral law to the parliament ending thus heated discussions during the previous sittings on whether this law should be proportional or mixed, proportional and majority one.

Trade Unions' Property To Return to Owners

The property of trade unions and social organizations taken away from them after the imposition of martial law in Poland in 1981, as well as the property transferred to other union structures will be returned to legal owners by virtue of the law adopted by the Sejm today with 172 votes for, 14 against, and 59 abstentions.

Privatization of Gdansk Shipyard

The Sejm committees suggested that the Sejm should reject the bill on distribution of some of the shares of the Gdansk Shipyard stock company free of charge and proposed other solution relating to the projected extension of the law on privatization of state enterprises.

The Sejm resolved to postone voting on the bills for two weeks.

Discussion on Communications

The Sejm will vote on the bills amending communications laws on Friday after amendments voiced during the plenary discussion today are formulated.

Question Time

In reply to Deputy Jozef Olesky's question on possible measures counteracting anti-Polish moods in Slovakia and Lithuania, Foreign Vice Minister Aleksander Krzyminski said that such moods are not universal and that they are temporary.

Leader Quits His Caucus

Co-initiator of the independent deputies' floor group and its to-date leader Marian Czerwinski resolved to leave the caucus.

Zbigniew Kostrzewa was elected new chairman of the floor group.

The Sejm will resume debates on Friday morning.

Solidarity Assets To Be Returned

LD2510191490 Warsaw PAP in English 1829 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 25—The assets of trade unions and social organizations taken away from them as a result of the introduction of martial law and those passed on to other trade union structures will be returned to their legal owners, the Sejm (lower house) decided today by adopting a relevant bill.

There were 172 votes for, 14 against, and 59 abstentions.

Communications Official on Private Broadcasting

AU2410092590 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 19 Oct 90 p 4

[Interview with Vice Minister of Communications Marek Rusin, by Grzegorz Gorny; place and date not given: "A Retuning of the Ether"]

[Text] [Gorny] How much longer will the state enjoy its monopoly over radio and television?

[Rusin] Until the new act comes into force. The bill was placed before the Sejm as far back as May, but the issue has been dragging on. Fortunately, the first reading in parliament is expected in a few days' time.

[Gorny] I have heard that the act is being impeded by a monopolist who wants to expand a network of local stations and capture the local commercials market before any competitors appear.

[Rusin] I cannot confirm that. I simply do not know what is holding the Sejm back. However, a de facto state monopoly no longer exists. We have already agreed that several other stations may operate on an experimental basis, for example Radio-Gazeta, Radio Solidarity, or Echo Television.

[Gorny] There seems to have been trouble with the latter recently.

[Rusin] The whole problem is that by rejecting the anachronistic rule about monopolies, we are moving in a legislative vacuum. When there are no rules, the only thing in force is a gentleman's agreement. Echo Television has broken that agreement by moving its transmitter to a different place and increasing its strength. We accept this fait accompli because there are no new rules.

[Gorny] When we do get these rules, how many television stations will we have?

[Rusin] Many letters of application have reached the ministry. There are about 300 people willing to set up radio networks, including 10 national ones, and 100 people wiling to set up television stations.

[Gorny] Who do these people represent?

[Rusin] Everyone, from the Catholic Church to blatant commercialism. They include Poles, Hungarians, Radio Luxembourg, Radio Free Europe....

[Gorny] Not everyone, however, will receive permission.

[Rusin] Today we are in a position to set up about 22 radio networks, including six national ones and about 16 local ones. As far as television is concerned, we are capable of having four national networks and three local ones.

[Gorny] Why not more?

[Rusin] Poland is small, and the "ether" is not made of rubber. Any radio or television channel will be treated just like a piece of commercial hardware. To use it, the consumer will pay the state a small sum of money. The state however, since it is taking this money, has to guarantee that the channel will be free of interference. That is why it is not possible to set up any more stations than that.

[Gorny] Is there no possibility of creating more stations?

[Rusin] We are already availing ourselves of such a possibility. We are switching to new wavebands for UHF-FM radio programs, in other words 88-108 mHz, which is used in the West. The present 66-73 mHz band is an anachronism used only in the "Eastern bloc." The new band will have three times the number of channels, and will also be less susceptible to interference. So far, every single receiver imported from the West has had to be retuned. Now it will be the other way around; Polish receivers will be retuned to Western wavebands. Of course, this will not take place overnight. For the next five to 10 years, stations will continue to broadcast on the old waveband, but any new station will be located on the new waveband. One reason for this is to encourage as many listeners as possible to adjust their receivers. I think the old waveband will be completely withdrawn in 10 years' time.

[Gorny] Which band will Polish Radio broadcast on?

[Rusin] The old and the new at the same time. I think that, given the choice, people will prefer commercial stations, broadcast on new channels.

[Gorny] But who will be granted these channels if the number of applicants is several times higher than the number of channels?

[Rusin] This will be decided in a contest set by the National Broadcasting Council, Ministry of Communications, and Ministry of Culture and Art. Those who thematically and financially have the best offers (e.g. a sports channel) will win. I fear that those people or bodies with Western capital have the greatest chances of success. They will even be able to afford to run television for nothing over a few months, for until such time as the commercials market has developed, it will be necessary to subsidize these stations. I hope the conditions of the contest will permit Polish program makers to win.

[Gorny] What about those who lose?

[Rusin] They will be able to set up cable channels. I see no restrictions here. There can even be 1,000 television networks.

[Gorny] But first there must be a law.

[Rusin] Exactly. I hope the legislative process will proceed without delay once the Sejm has passed this act.

Citizens Parliamentary Club Presidium Dissolved

LD2510235190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2202 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] The Citizens Parliamentary Club [OKP] Presidium has been dissolved. The decision was made this evening at a stormy and sometimes dramatic meeting of the group. There were 107 deputies and senators who voted to dissolve the Presidium—eight against, eight abstained. Elections for new OKP leaders will take place on 7 November.

UN To Aid Transition to Market Economy

AU2510170990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0835 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/10/1990—A four million dollar technical assistance programme for Romania to support its effort towards a market economy has recently been approved by the UNDP [United Nations Development Program] Governing Council over 1992-1996. UNDP will also assist Romania in the launching of such important projects as the training of personnel for the management of a market economy, the development of small industry and of private entrepreneurship. Another project is under was for the privatisation of state enterprises, it has been announced in Bucharest.

Barladeanu's Statements on Common Market Noted

AU2510202190 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 12 Oct 90 p 1

[Corneliu Vlad article: "Grapes Are Sour, Mr. Academician"]

[Text] The grapes of Europe are sour for you, Mr. President of the Senate, Academician Alexandru Barladeanu. We all saw their effect on your face very well and very clearly on the small television screen.

We want to believe you—the venerable parliamentarian involved in much legislation—and believe everything you say.

Indeed, you succeeded in convincing all of us that from a geographic point of view we are in Europe. You also convinced us that from a historical point of view we are European. You convinced us of this when you told us about the Turks, who formerly were not like us Europeans. (The only thing is—let us admit it—that in the meantime the Turks, although from a geographical point of view they are a bit more toward the far end of Europe, have somehow entered Europe before us and before many others. They also entered the Common Market. That, however, is another issue. Or maybe it means exactly the same thing.)

I, however, did not understand you very well on another issue. You say that as a matter of fact, the Council of Europe—why should we not say so?—is no more and no less than a vestige of the cold war. We believe that you, in telling us to build a new Europe, mean that we should somehow eliminate the anachronistic Council of Europe because it is a vestige of the cold war which no longer exists. You, on the other hand, say that we are almost ready to enter the Council of Europe. Do you want us to enter such a thing? Or do you want us to enter the aforementioned organization through our own vestiges of the cold war? Because, thank God, we have our own vestiges among us....

That is why we say: Allow us to misunderstand you. One can see, however, that the grapes of Europe are not very good for your health, Mr. Barladeanu. One can also see that you would like them....

New Ambassador to Romania Discusses Relations

LD2510121590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0750 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Telephone interview with new Ambassador to Romania Erne Rudas by Peter Marvanyi; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpt] [Marvanyi] When you presented your credentials, you met President Iliescu. I imagine the most interesting and most exciting question is, what did you talk about?

[Rudas] This introductory meeting is determined by protocol. Within this, relations between two countries are not often discussed, in a wider sense. Considering Hungarian-Romanian relations, however, and the present position of bilateral relations, I found it necessary to bring up one or two questions. For example, the message of President Arpad Goncz to President Iliescu, the essence of which is that he will shortly return to the offer of an early presidential meeting with the Romanian president. On the Romanian side, they are emphasizing that the Hungarian leadership refuses discussions and sets certain preconditions for the meeting. From the Hungarian angle, this looks different. The Hungarian partners do not wish to set any preconditions. What is in question here is that, in their opinion, both the Hungarian and Romanian public have enormous expectations about the outcome of such a meeting.

[Marvanyi] Do you say this in light of the very unsuccessful Hungarian-Romanian meeting a few years ago, in terms of what Karoly Grosz could have achieved with Ceausescu?

[Rudas] Obviously, this is also included. At the same time, after nearly two months, we can sense that the changes that we would be justified to expect in such historic moments did not take place.

[Marvanyi] In previous weeks there was an even more irate exchange of Hungarian-Romanian memoranda.

[Rudas] The essence is, that prior to [word indistinct], the Hungarian partners expressed their concern that the commemorations might not be taking place in the appropriate manner. After one week, we received the Romanian reply memorandum, in which, in the opinion of the Hungarian partner, the reaction was not what we expected following the original well-intentioned note.

[Marvanyi] Was this irritation still noticeable during the discussions with Iliescu?

[Rudas] Oh, no, he is a very experienced politician. There could not be such an incident, even if he had been justified to have reasons for it. We, of course, exchanged words about this question as well.

[Marvanyi] What happened?

[Rudas] On the Romanian side, they continued to stress their reservations [passage indistinct].

[Marvanyi] Could you discuss some of the other subjects which you raised during the meeting with Iliescu? Were there any subjects on which there were indications of a compromise, or of converging opinions?

[Rudas] I think their position was coming closer to ours in one respect, in that that we should make mutual efforts to improve Hungarian-Romanian relations.

[Marvanyi] Translated from the beautiful language of diplomacy, what does this means in concrete terms? Shall we remain in contact?

[Rudas] Definitely. For this, there are the already agreed possibilities for the near future. I am thinking here, first of all, of the discussion of the defense ministers, and the invitation of the Hungarian parliament to the speaker of the Romanian Senate and the Romanian Parliament, and, of course, there is the message of Arpad Goncz.

[Marvanyi] In recent days, some strange news reached us again, mainly from the Maros County, about some incidents and atrocities. For many here in Hungary, this obviously raises fears that these are early waves of a more serious situation.

[Rudas] It was raised that, in connection with the travel of Hungarian citizens, certain technical conflicts could arise. Everyone should remember the following facts: During the past year, 178,000 Romanian citizens visited Hungary, while 500,000 Hungarians visited Romanian. By 31 August this had increased on the Hungarian side by 200,000, so 700,000 Hungarian citizens had been to Romania, and 6 million [figure as heard] Romanians had been to Hungary.

[Marvanyi] Six million?

[Rudas] Yes. I do not think that under these circumstances the earlier claim or assumption can, in any sense, be considered valid. Returning to the question about tensions here, in connection with this, I think the Romanian leadership drew the conclusions from the events at Tirgu Mures and I cannot imagine [words indistinct]. [passage omitted]

Cornea Interviewed on Visit to Great Britain

AU2510141690 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 18 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

[Report on interview with Doina Cornea by Doina Basca; place and date not given: "Interview With Mrs. Doina Cornea—Romanian Presence in Bournemouth"; first four paragraphs are DREPTATEA introduction]

[Excerpts] This year's Tory Conference in Bournemouth marked the presence—for the first time, together with the 5,000 representatives of the Conservatives of the United Kingdom—of 16 prominent figures of the new Eastern European democracies. [passage omitted]

The conference took place from 10-13 October 1989. Returning from Great Britain, Mrs. Doina Cornea told us:

"We arrived in Bournemouth in the afternoon of 10 October and, upon entering the hall, I was surprised and impressed with the speech delivered by Mr. Mihai Gheorghiu, who essentially said that 'Romania has to restore its traditional values because we were offered false values in the past 45 years,' which do not characterize Romanian culture.

"The second day, together with the other representatives of the Eastern countries, we had a meeting with Sir Geoffrey Pattie, vice president of the Conservative Party in charge of European and Eastern European affairs, at which the delegation members took the floor describing the specific situation in the countries they represented."

[Basca] I noted in the list of guests to this congress that the delegations from the other Eastern European countries hold important positions in the recently created governments.

[Cornea] Yes, only Romania was represented by civilians and opposition party officials. This may be due to the fact that there is not such a great difference between the opposition and those in power, because all the other Eastern European governments, with the exception of Romania, have embarked on the road to democracy.

[Basca] Thus, your invitation to this conference was also a tacit recognition of the genuine representatives of the democratization process in our country.

When did you meet with Mrs. Thatcher?

[Cornea] The same morning of 11 October. Mrs. Thatcher came and shook hands with the delegation leaders—in Romania's case with Mr. Corneliu Coposu [president of the National Peasants Christian Democratic Party]—and asked a few questions regarding developments in the countries they were representing.

[Basca] What meetings did you have personally?

[Cornea] I talked mainly to Mr. Waldegrave, deputy foreign secretary, Sir Geoffrey Pattie, and Sir Geoffrey Howe, [former] foreign secretary. The questions I was asked dealt with the social and political atmosphere, while Mr. Coposu referred to the economy and the main political trends.

I admitted that there have been certain improvements; the other parties now have those 40 minutes [TV time to air their views on "Viewpoints" program], and concessions have been made regarding privatization; however, I drew attention to the fact that that is not enough and actually is a facade rather than genuine progress toward democratization. I also provided some examples in this respect. First, I mentioned that some mistakes have been admitted by Mr. Iliescu in his speech to the United

Nations in New York, a speech which was, however, not broadcast by Romanian Television. Mind you, he did not make his mistakes toward the American people so that he had to apologize to them, but rather toward the Romanian people.

In connection with the indignant statement made by Mr. Petre Roman on television on the reinstatement of the former nomenklatura, asking the Romanian people to remove them, I pointed out that the prime minister was actually the one to initiate this process when he appointed some compromised prefects (Mr. Zanc in Cluj, the former chief of censorship, is a telling example in this respect).

This was actually a chain reaction because, in turn, those prefects appointed mayors; therefore, people belonging to the former structure will be the ones to control future local elections.

I also pointed out the difficulties faced by the independent press.

I placed stress on the systematic disinformation practiced by television and in this respect I quoted the mayor of Sapinta village, Mr. Stetca, as an example. A list of signatures in support of this mayor was declared as being a list of his slanderers.

I also mentioned that Vartan Arachelian's program has been dropped, a program which made the link between the people of our country and our great cultural values and personalities. The television network remains the monopoly of the FSN [National Salvation Front] propaganda.

[Basca] Vartan Arachelian actually presented the interview with King Mihai.

[Cornea] You know very well, however, that the government refused an entry visa to His Majesty. A constitutional monarchy is still an alternative to the current situation; therefore, they fear any kind of allusion to it.

The king represents a stabilizing, unification, and reconciliation factor between the forces, which are now almost in a state of conflict.

His moral integrity and the credibility he enjoys stemming from this very integrity, as well as his wisdom and experience, would contribute to Romania's regaining its balance at home. The trust he generates would revive not only the hope but also the enthusiasm of many people to contribute to our country's reconstruction.

His Majesty's prestige would also be a guarantee for the West that Romania will respect the values of democracy. [passage omitted]

Roman Statement on Return From France

AU2510193290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1627 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/10/1990—There were and will remain moments of greatest importance for our country, which actually marked steps towards Romania's rapprochement to the European Community, toward its return to the traditions of democratic Europe as I wished and assessed not long ago. This materialized in a way which gives me great and justified hopes to see our country in the Council of Europe enjoying the rights and dignity it has and deserves, stated to the press Prime Minister Petre Roman on returning home from the visit he paid to several Western European countries.

Referring to Romania's present image in the world the Romanian premier said that the course of developments in our country, either on the political or the economic plane, was correctly perceived in the Western countries. I would like to mention two countries—Luxembourg and Belgium—where I had interviews with numerous personalities, either governmental or parliamentary, who unequivocally manifested their wish to be close to Romania, which gave me a great satisfaction.

22 Soccer Fans Seek Asylum in France

AU2510191590 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] According to AFP, which quotes French police sources, 71 of the 100 Romanian fans who arrived in France to attend a soccer match between Montpellier and Steaua Bucharest failed to board the chartered plane that was to transport them home. This morning, 22 of them applied for political asylum at the Alien Department of the Montpellier Prefect's Office. The others took trains for Paris and Lyon. According to the aforementioned news agency, the Romanian supporters who did not board the plane for their flight home had brought all their identity papers, diplomas, and training documents with them.

The soccer flight was the only way out of Romania because we could not get any visas, a 22-year-old young worker said. He also said, we quote, the Securitate still exists, works under cover, and we are subjected to brutal forms of intimidation.

Iliescu Receives Swedish Governmental Delegation

AU2510164190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0741 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/10/1990—President Ion Iliescu of Romania received Wednesday evening a Swedish governmental delegation led by Goeran Hakansson, secretary of state for medical care at the Ministry of Social Affairs.

The head of the delegation conveyed a message of greetings from Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson who stressed his government's and Sweden's support for democratic changes in Romania. Goeran Hakansson spoke about the activity of several organisations represented in the delegation that played an outstanding role

in supplying aid for the Romanian handicapped children after the revolution and expressed their willingness to continue the action.

Thanking for the sense of solidarity that has shown since the early days of the revolution, Ion Iliescu singled out a few social-economic characteristics in present-day Romania. Starting from the difficulties Romania has to cope with, he welcomed the relief provided by the Swedish Government, by governmental and non-governmental organisations. The president then concentrated on the effort of the Romanian authorities since the revolution to improve the living conditions of the least favoured segments of the population and on the measures that were taken to create an institutionalised framework for social welfare.

Iliescu Sends Message to Cuba's Castro

AU2510171690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1443 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/10/1990—Romania's president, Mr. Ion Iliescu, and Premier Petre Roman have sent a message to Fidel Castro Ruz, president of the State Council and of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, on the anniversary of thirty years of diplomatic relations between Romania and the Republic of Cuba.

On the same occasion, Mr. Adrian Nastase, Romania's foreign minister, has sent a telegram to his Cuban counterpart, Isidoro Malmierca Peoli.

National Army Day Celebrations Continue

Iliescu Sends Message

AU2510171890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0654 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/10/1990—The day of the Romanian Army 25 October is an opportunity to recall all the sons and daughters of Romania who, along the centuries, through hard work and sacrifices, through their intelligence, the strength of their hands and, when they had no other choice, through the power of weapons, served the Romanian nation with devotion, reads the Romanian president's message to the Military on the Army Day.

The Army is in Romania, as historian Nicolae Iorga defined it, "the oldest civic institution of the Romanians," became one with the people and served its interest. There is no moment in the Romanians' existence in which the Army had not taken part and shed its blood for the liberty and sovereignty of the homeland, to defend or restore the ancient hearth.

The Romanian nation will never forget the heroism of the our soldiers in liberating the north-western part of the country from under Horthy's occupation, the day of 25 October 1944 when the tricolor was hoisted again in the towns of Carei and Satu Mare, a day which was proclaimed the day of the Romanian Armed Forces, and which will remain for all of us the symbol of an eternal mission, that of defending the homeland's integrity through any sacrifice.

In the days of the popular December 1989 revolution, the country's Army was again on the side of the people. In those complex and dramatic events I had been more than once among officers and generals, among young soldiers. I could feel everyone's will to definitively break up with the past, to impose the truth and justice instead of oppression and arbitrary. Such sentiments could not stem but from the understanding of the real needs and aspirations of the people with which the country's Army identified and which it will and prosperous, are also the efforts made for the Army to consolidate its powers of fundamental institution, of warrant of the homeland's independence and integrity.

We know well which are the needs of the Army, how many problems must be reconsidered, set on new bases, to have a modern army, with a combat capacity adapted to the needs of the country's defence. You should know, the message reads in conclusion, that the presidency, Romania's Parliament and Government will do their utmost to solve them.

Iliescu, Roman Attend Festive Meeting

AU2510195290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1922 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/10/1990—A festive meeting was held at the Romanian Athenaeum on 25 October to mark the Day of the Romanian Armed Forces, attended by President Ion Iliescu, Prime Minister Petre Roman, Alexandru Barladeanu, president of the Senate, Dan Martian, speaker of the Assembly of Deputies, members of the government, heads of the parties represented to Parliament, members of the Higher Military Council, veterans, generals and officers, students of the Military Academy, enlisted men, journalists.

Present were heads of diplomatic missions accredited to Bucharest, military, air and naval attaches.

Colonel General Victor Stanculescu, minister of national defence, spoke about the significance of the event.

Stanculescu Addresses Meeting

AU2510211590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2000 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/10/1990—To fully understand the significance of the day of 25 October 1944 we must understand the drama the country lived in 1940 when, compelled by political circumstances, the Army had to leave, in the autumn of 1940, with tears in their eyes but with great confidence in the future, part of the country's sacred land, said Colonel General Victor Stanculescu at the festive meeting in Bucharest.

In the national military epopee against the background of the biggest world conflagration, the day of 25 October 1944 is a summum bonum of the military effort of our nation, as well as a "finis coronat opus" in this geographical area, a moment of complete liberation of the last occupied settlements in the territory of "our suffering" Transylvania, the speaker said.

The huge military, economic and financial efforts the Romanian people made for the triumph of the United Nations coalition were acknowledged and appreciated by governments and politicians and statesmen from various countries and would have deserved to be sanctioned as such from the point of view of international law, which did not happen.

In the days of December 1989, just as in all the difficult moments for this country, the Army proved its patriotism, its role in defending the people, in serving its ideals.

For a future, really unbiased, chronicler of the Romanian revolution of December 1989 a fact will remain essential: There was a fundamental and necessary relationship of interdependence between the spontaneous civic revolution and the Romanian Army.

The revolution of the nation, of the citizens could not triumph without the intervention of the Armed Forces on the side of the revolution.

On the other hand, the Army could not shake off the control of the dictatorship and turn the weapons against it without the mass uprising in Timisoara and then in the capital city and other towns of the country.

We must say that in those days the Army lived one of the most complex situation in its history. The Army's tearing away from the dictatorship and the Communist Party was a highly complex operation and remains a fundamental component of the Romanian revolution of December 1989, being a unique, unprecedented case in Eastern Europe. Now the Army is engaged in a complex process of modernization of its structures, of democratization of its social relations, of maintenance of its combat capacity within the European security parameters and its own needs. Our military doctrine is subordinated exclusively to the country's defence and to do it we must have a strong, flexible army, perfectly and operatively adapted to the conditions in Europe. We will combine the compulsory military service with the use of professionals, and as far as military equipment is concerned within the limits set after the Vienna negotiations we want it to be most up-to-date.

After the December revolution, the Army has been restored its status of fundamental institution, has became mature and responsible, belonging to the state of law and to the country. As is well known, it does not favour any political party. It defends the country and its fundamental institutions.

The Romanian Army will always do what it should do, that is be in the service of the homeland. What it has always done, the defence minister said in conclusion.

Stanculescu Sends Message

AU2510171990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1432 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/10/1990—A great number of cultural events will take place in Bucharest today, on the occasion of the day of the Romanian Army. A festive meeting will be held at the Romanian Athenaeum, with the participation of high officials.

The liberation on October 25, 1944, of the last two Romanian cities, Carei and Satu Mare, in the country's north-west, from Horthyist and Hitlerite occupation, meant the completion at the western border, of the country as a whole, after having been dismembered by the unjust and brutal fascist dictate signed in Vienna in August 1940. Following that dictate, a vast part of the national territory, which had seen the birth and preservation of the Romanian people, was occupied by Horthy's Hungary, according to the Order of the Day of the defense minister, Colonel-General Victor Stanculescu, on the occasion of the Romanian Army's Day.

We honour our predecessors on October 25, a day which marks the brilliant victory of the Romanian Army towards the end of an important stage of the anti-Hitlerite campaign in the Second World War. Today our thoughts and feelings go back to the nation's heroes who shed their blood for the motherland, from the humblest soldiers to the great commanders, to the Romanian Army's veterans who bravely bore the tricolor in the heat of battles, to the martyrs of the December 1989 popular revolution who, by their sacrifice, have forever deserved a place in the pantheon of the Romanian nation the said Order of the Day further reads.

Parliament Joint Session Adopts Agenda

AU2510161190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1141 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/10/1990—Thursday morning a joint session of Romania's bicameral Parliament which met at the Palace Hall adopted the following agenda:

1. Discussions on Prime Minister Petre Roman's report concerning the stage in the implementation of economic reform and the need to speed it up;

2. A Romanian Parliament resolution concerning measures to supply food, heat and electricity to the population during the 1990- 1991 winter.,

3. A statement of Romania's Parliament to the appeal to international public opinion, to governments and parliaments, to international organisations, as well as to the appeal to the Romanians all over the world issued by the Executive Committee of the Council of the Popular Front of Moldova;

4. A report of the Romanian parliamentary delegation to the Interparliamentary Conference.

The second item on the agenda was first to be discussed. With a majority of votes, Parliament passed a resolution on the government briefing of the measures that must be taken to provide food, heat and electricity to the population in the winter 1990-1991.

As part of the debates on Prime Minister Petre Roman's report concerning the stage in the implementation of economic reform and the demand to speed it up in a joint session of Parliament, Ion Ratiu, leader of the National Christian Democratic Peasant Party group in the Assembly of Deputies, said that the prime minister's report did no more than list the problems, which can hardly help their settlement. All indicators have increased. Furthermore, private initiative is not given free reins, and if it is not blocked, it is not stimulated either. If I were to assess the government policy I would call it unsatisfactory, the speaker said. That is what the government deserves for its policy since it took office. Without questioning the patriotism of the government, he continued, we demand it to step down because it has not proved it can administer, and because it does guarantee that it can do it.

Adopts Resolution on Winter Supplies

AU2510161990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1422 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/10/1990—The Romanian Parliament adopted a resolution on the government's stated measures that must be taken to provide food, heat and electricity to the population in the winter of 1990-1991.

Noting the realistic spirit and the objective analysis of the statement submitted by Minister Vatasescu a couple of days before, and the fact that the population's supply with basic foods has improved in the nine months of the year from the same period last time even though there are problems, the document says that the rises fall short of the population's demands.

Parliament shares the government's option to give priority in channeling energy resources which are scarce to meeting the population's requirements. This puts the conditions in place for household comfort (heating, electricity) to somehow improve even if the domestic production of coal, crude oil and natural gas fails to reach the 1989 level. However, there are places where the heat and natural gas production and distribution infrastructure is such that it cannot allow the supplies to increase substantially.

In context, rising imports and the more efficient use of the existing domestic resources are the only measures seen as capable to influence living conditions significantly and forthrightly. According to government estimates, the imports of energy sources, fodder and food to meet minimum demands will lead to a quarterly balance-of-payments deficit of 1.2-1.5 billion dollars, nearly half of which is due to higher crude prices. The document shows that since hard currency sources are not available to cover the deficit, the government will apply for external credits.

However, the best and surest way to increase production and improve the population's supply is to make proper use of domestic resources, of the work time and labour. Any pay claims unsupported by productivity rises can only worsen the economic situation, and add further scope to inflationist phenomena.

Parliament takes the view that, at least in the forthcoming period when market mechanisms are still at an early stage, the government should play a direct role in the administration of certain activities, set the priorities and try to balance out the resources of the economy with its real needs.

At the same time, Parliament pledges to support the government by speeding up the passage of laws that should quicken the pace of reform.

Parliament takes the view that it is particularly important for the government to make further efforts in order that the measures it takes or is about to take are known well and in advance by the public, to ensure the necessary openness and the premises for a good understanding of its economic and social policies.

Discusses Foreign Policy

AU2510161590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1443 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/10/1990—Corneliu Manescu, chairman of the Parliamentary Foreign Policy Commission, read out in before a joint session of Parliament today a declaration of Romania's Parliament on the appeal of the Executive Committee of the Popular Front of Moldavia's Council to International Public Opinion, Governments and Parliaments, and International Organisations, and on its Appeal to the Romanians All Over the World.

Speaking on that item were the following deputies and senators: Sergiu Cunescu, Radu Campeanu, Ioan Alexandru, Sergiu Nicolaescu, Mihai Balanescu, Ioan Etcu, Karoly Kiraly, Dan Iosif, Otto Weber, Constantinescu-Claps, Mihai Mancas, Aurelian Gulea, Gheorghe Dumitrascu.

The speakers showed that the declaration put before Parliament for discussion was not comprehensive and failed to reflect the real frame of mind of the Parliament of Romania, of its citizens in the face of the difficult situation of the population of the Republic of Moldavia whose territorial integrity is threatened. To merely sympathize with the efforts of the population of Bessarabia to safeguard is territorial integrity is far too little, participants in debates said. The creation of the so-called Gagauz and Transdniester republics is in defiance of the inalienable rights of the

Moldavians between the Prut and the Dniester the majority population in that historic space. The declaration must be improved, it was shown. It must reflect the clear and unequivocal attitude of Romania's Parliament, of the Romanian people to the situation in the Republic of Moldavia, strongly voice its full solidarity with the much tried population of Moldavia.

In consideration of the views shared by all participants in the debates, Alexandru Barladeanu, the Senate president, proposed that the Foreign Policy Commission and the parliamentary group leaders meet forthrightly to amend the declaration in order that it may be passed as speedily as possible.

The joint session heard Senator Viorel Faur's report on the activity of the Romanian parliamentary delegation at the 84th Interparliamentary Conference at Punta del Este in Uruguay, 15-20 October 1990.

In connection with that report, Romania's Parliament unanimously passed a resolution that approves of the activity of the delegation which it regards as having outlined, according to its mandate, the measures that had been taken since the December 1989 revolution to create a state of law, to promote democracy, liberty and dignity, to expand friendship with all peoples.

The Romanian Parliament appreciates the position of the participating delegations which also shows in the final documents on the demand peacefully to solve all conflicts in different geopolitical areas, urgently and fairly to settle the pressing problems of underdevelopment, of achieving the fundamental human rights and liberties, of strengthening the climate of security and peace.

Condemns Separatist Trends in Moldova

AU2510171190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1557 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/10/1990—The Foreign Policy Commission of Romania's Parliament held an emergency session on Thursday, 25 October, chaired by Mr. Corneliu Manescu, chairman of the commission. Attending were also the leaders of political groups represented to the Senate and the Assembly of Deputies. After productive debates and a minute analysis a statement was adopted by consensus which was submitted for approval to the two chambers that were holding a joint session.

The statement was passed with two abstentions.

Statement by Romania's Parliament Regarding the Appeal of the Council of the People's Front of the Republic of Moldavia

Romania's Parliament expresses its deep concern over the events mentioned in the "Appeal to World Public Opinion, Governments and Parliaments of the World and International Organizations" of the Executive Committee of the Council of the People's Front of Moldavia of 3 September 1990 as well as in the "Appeal to the Romanians Everywhere" of the Council of the People's Front of Moldavia of 21 October 1990.

The territorial integrity of the Republic of Moldavia, inhabited mostly by Romanians, is in danger of being divided. The creation of new unlawful and non-viable entities, like the so-called Gagauz and Dniester republics, can by no means be justified.

Romania's Parliament, expressing the will of the entire nation, asserts its full solidarity with the population of the Republic of Moldavia that speaks up for the maintenance of the territorial integrity of the Republic and welcomes the stand taken by the USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev who condemns those acts as being anticonstitutional and sources of tension.

In these difficult moments, Romania's Parliament backs the people of the Republic of Moldavia, who loves freedom and wishes to live and develop according to its own will and conscience, in understanding and harmony with all the citizens of the republic.

Romania's Parliament decides that the present statement be conveyed to the parliaments and governments of all the states of the world.

National Democratic Party Supports Moldavia

AU2510170890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1138 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/10/1990—Today, when the crimes of Stalinism are denounced both in the Soviet Union and in all the countries in the former "socialist bloc," when the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact was termed an unjust act, when the close cooperation between Stalin and Hitler is conceded in fact as well as its sad role in the destiny of Europe, when the imperialist character of the Yalta acts was admitted, it is unfair that the Republic of Moldova and its people should be the target of actions against the territorial integrity of the republic and the peace and safety of its citizens, says a communique of the National Democratic Party sent to ROMPRES. Without claiming that it can or has the right to give advice, the National Democratic Party calls on all lucid forces who love peace and good understanding in the Soviet Union, in Moldova more particularly to try to think and act correctly, in the spirit of respect for the national dignity of the population in the republic, and in history's spirit of eternal justice, realizing that one cannot be happy as long as one is an oppressor, the communique states.

The National Democratic Party which cannot fail to react to the desperate call of the brothers across the Prut, appeals to the competent fora of the Soviet Union not to take rash decisions that may would the sacred land of Moldova and the already mourning hearts of its inhabitants.

Message of the "Stefan cel Mare" ["Stephen the Great"] Culture Society

At this dramatic time for all our people, similar to Moldova with that of 1812 and 1940, when destabilising elements take unlawful and anticonstitutional action, scheming another historic wrong that will unquestionably be publicly denounced by posterity, the "Stefan cel Mare" Culture Association of Bucovina with its head office in the old capital of one-and-only Moldova at Suceava, expresses its full support, on the strength of respect for the basic rights of a sovereign state with a democratically elected government and parliament, for the inalienable integrity of the territory of Moldova across the Prut, the "Stefan cel Mare" society says in its message sent to ROMPRES for broadcasting. The society appeals to the leadership of the USSR, which supports the same principles of national and international law, to actively contribute to appease the contradictions in the Republic of Moldova.

Cornea, Munteanu Address Rally in Cluj-Napoca

AU2510194890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1920 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/10/1990—For two days Cluj-Napoca has hosted the proceedings of the first convention of the Democratic Anti-Totalitarian Fora in Romania. The main aim of the convention was to put under discussion the data concerning the current situation of the social life, as well as to make proposals for a common programme of action for the victory of democracy.

On Thursday the participants in the convention arranged a rally in the Unirii [Union] Square in central Cluj-Napoca where the floor was taken by Doina Cornea, Marian Munteanu, Ion Lupu. The participants chanted anti-communist and anti-governmental slogans as well as slogans against the country's president.

* Goals of Antitotalitarian Democratic Forum

91BA0018A Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 3 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

[Adrian Marino article: "Antitotalitarian Democratic Forum"]

[Text] In Romania of the post-ceausist, sinister "golden age" period, the political life fortunately doesn't stay the same for long. New aspects and phenomena keep emerging, the most important and long-term of which is undoubtedly the establishment of a growing number of branches of the Antitotalitarian Democratic Forum [ADF] in an increasing number of counties. Opposition parties, groups, and movements which are anti-Front, antineocommunism, and antineototalitarianism have finally begun to realize that this fragmentation of forces is counterproductive. Only a joint effort will offer a both credible and efficient alternative to the Front.

This idea has actually been around for a while. It was earlier vigorously asserted by the leadership of the PNT-cd [National Peasant Party], and was voiced in Timisoara, too. It was finally implemented in Cluj on 6 August by the official formation of a first such Forum, which is engaging in various forms of action. The Proclamation of Cluj was launched at the same time and published in several newspapers, beginning with DREPTATEA and ROMANIA LIBERA to the JURNALUL LITERAR, ATLAS, etc. The appeal of Cluj had a real effect. Similar Forums were established in many counties in Transylvania, as well as in other areas of the country: Iasi, Bacau, and Piatra Neamt in Moldavia; Constanta, Dobruja; Dolj, Mehedinti, and Olt in Wallachia. The process of organization is in full swing in Bucharest. The idea is well on its way.

Even a mere enumeration like the above suffices to dispel the profoundly slanderous statement that appeared in ADEVARUL IN LIBERTATE of 21 September in Cluj, according to which [the Forums] were allegedly the outcome of a foreign, Hungarian "influence:" "Only here (in Transylvania—editorial note) do we see the emergence of all kinds of forums, from which the UDMR [Democratic Union of Romanian Magyars] is never absent." Which we think is all to the good. The forums are profoundly democratic and antitotalitarian. They are against any discrimination, chauvinism, and xenophobic tendencies. Article 2 of the Proclamation of Cluj clearly states that.

What are the objectives of these Forums? Some are immediate objectives, and the most important of them is to unite and organize the opposition forces. Obviously these bodies will unite in the—hopefully near—future within the framework of a congress to form a unified opposition alliance. The parties will not and need not lose their identity and ideological structure. They will, however, better organize their opposition activities and will increasingly come out against the Front through a single program of action. At the same time, the parties are progressively learning to cooperate and to adopt new political practices and ethics. No one is assured of having the government in his back pocket forever. The profoundly popular, spontaneous, and unplanned December revolution—has anyone made a list of all the alleged anti-Ceausescu "plots?"—was fundamentally directed not only against Ceausescu, but primarily against communism. The ADF is thus radically and definitively anticommunist. Its purpose is to replace all the old communist structures of the country. It will not accept any form of neocommunism, and it categorically rejects the disguised formula of a so-called "original democracy." What we need is simply democracy. We want the full implementation of human rights and the elimination of every discrimination (religious, ethnic, etc.) from our country. This is the immediate objective of the ADF in every county.

The ADF is struggling to establish another type of society in Romania: a pluralistic, liberal, democratic, noncollectivist and non-socialist society. As long as the

predominant form of ownership is still socialist, as long as the agricultural production cooperatives are allowed to continue to exist without radical reorganization, and as long as an ownership bill has not been passed, the current post-Ceausescu regime will unfortunately continue to be a communist regime. We understand that radical restructuring cannot be done overnight. But some resolute beginning must be made along this line. However, the so-called "privatization" is still only a parody, a genuine farce. Scores of old laws and regulations continue to stand in its way and to strip private initiatives of any real significance. We are in favor of radically stripping the economy of ideology and suppressing the "ideological costs." We have had enough of subsidized prices whose only purpose was to demonstrate the alleged "superiority" of the socialist system over the communist one. We have had enough of an artificially maintained heavy industry for which we don't have domestic raw material sources, which was set up solely because the stalinist industrialization model had to be mechanically and slavishly aped. In the USSR, too, the purpose of the heavy industry was primarily ideological: The heavy industry meant first and foremost an arms industry, designed to enable us to "defy" the imaginary "capitalist siege" and forcibly impose the "world revolution" and the other obsolete communist myths that have gone totally bankrupt. When even the USSR recently invested Mr. Gorbachev with "full powers" to effect the transition to a "market economy," what are Romania's old and new communists waiting for? Do they want Romania to forever remain an Albania in the middle of a modern, changing world that has finally broken with communism?

That is why the fundamental objective of the ADF, as indeed of the entire Romanian democratic public opinion, is to replace the old communist state structures. In point of fact, this is the most difficult operation, because it is meeting with stubborn resistance from the cadres of the old regime who continue to hold all the positions of power. Everywhere we see the same people of the past, the most corrupt, abusive, and incompetent. This is the "new class" of the nomenklatura that blocks all the reforms. This class is still powerful, aggressive, and insolent. And while in cities it can be denounced increasingly energetically, in the country it is not about to relinquish the power (see the Sapinta case, as well as many others). Genuine clans and rural mafias were formed over the past decades, who simply terrorize the villages. This class of the nomenklatura is the real power base of the Front. Together with the television monopoly and the reprisal apparatus under their command, they are the real power in post-Ceausescu Romania. Consequently, the ADF resolutely speaks out against these tools of power, and for a new civil society, with new socioeconomic structures, new means of expression, and new order-keeping bodies. This is the ADF program reduced to a single comprehensive formula.

This is why the ADF insistently demands not only democratization and privatization as the most urgent and important requirements, but also other radical reforms, because they are all interconnected and closely linked.

One such reform calls for changing the operation of the information media, beginning with the disbanding of the television monopoly. We also want independent television stations capable of offering an alternative to the Front's televized propaganda. At the same time, we want a free and independent press in keeping with the recently published Charter on the Freedom of the Press. We don't need any "press law;" relevant articles in the Constitution and the Penal Code are enough. Why are so many obstacles raised, including the difficulties made for Mr. I. Ratiu's independent information newspaper? Why does Iosif Constantin Dragan (the magnate and former Iron Guardist) have a "license" for an independent television station, while other corporations, associations, and personalities do not? Without radically changing the regime of the Romanian television there will be no real progress toward the profound democratization of our society. As is known, images are infinitely more convincing than the written word. Thus, the audio-visual media is another venue of confrontation, perhaps even the main one.

And finally, we want new, totally apolitical order-keeping bodies. The repressive apparatus (the Securitate and SRI [Romanian Intelligence Service], which have their specific and specialized duties) must no longer constitute a political police serving to watch and repress only the opposition. This typically and profoundly totalitarian structure cannot and must not be "revived" at any cost, under any pretext, by any press campaign, or at any staged excuse. How many real "spies" have been arrested? How many imported "weapons" have been seized? The fate of post-Ceausescu democracy in Romania cannot forever remain in the hands of any type of political police!

* FSN Official on Current Party Problems

90BA0334B Bucharest AZI in Romanian
19 Sep 90 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Claudiu Iordache, first deputy chairman of the National Salvation Front (FSN), by Valentin Muresan; place and date not given; first paragraph is AZI introduction]

[Text] Mr. Claudiu Iordache, first deputy chairman of the FSN [National Salvation Front], is one of the people who directly participated in the December revolutionary movement in the city of the roses. He was born in 1942 and is a designer/builder by profession. He is a member of the Chamber of Deputies.

[Muresan] Mr. Claudiu Iordache, you must agree with me that earthquakes are in fashion. I am referring to political earthquakes. There is a rumor that the FSN is not proof

against them either, that there is discord among the leadership, that a "young wing" has split off and is gaining ground, and so forth. What is true of all this?

[Iordache] Naturally, viewed from the outside, some of the problems of a political movement like the FSN cannot be immediately understood, and then explanations are sought at the level of human perception. In reality, at this moment, we don't have any politically divergent branches and there is no discord stemming from different ways of approaching the strategies of the Front. On the other hand, there are problems stemming from an organizational structure weakened by the 20 May elections, because the motivation that kept our electorate in strong solidarity in the pre-electoral period has in the meantime changed. The purpose of our recent communique was to announce that a special commission had been established to prepare the National FSN Convention in December. This commission will also work on a reorganization at all the levels, with a view to being able to implement a project of consolidating our political movement along the lines of a social-democratic party with a precise doctrine and ideology.

As for the "young wing," I prefer to say that I pin my hopes on the ascent of a "good faith wing."

[Muresan] Speaking of the danger that the political parties may "explode"—as has already been the case with the liberals and the Peasant Party, don't you think that one way of dealing with the problem would be to accept factions? Has the Front any intention of being the first to institutionalize party factions?

[Iordache] There are several ways of dealing with the issue of factions: some parties reject it, others accept it. In a hypercentralized system, the party rejects the right to options different from the "official version." As far as we are concerned, we now want to draft a new platform and a new statute that will make room for factions, i.e., for a diversity of options that can lead us toward the best possible choice at a given moment. So we will not raise obstacles in the way of different options, but at this moment, the situation that overwhelms us with its problems is a totally different one: Our biggest problems are organizational. Such differing options have not yet been outlined.

[Muresan] It is said that in the past two-three months the Front has lost a considerable number of supporters and that the disarray is rather serious at the low level. Returning from a tour of the country, Dinu Patriciu stated that the Front has "ceased to exist" as a mass movement. What is the view from this office?

[Iordache] I don't know what Mr. Dinu Patriciu's criteria are or how close his conclusion comes to the reality or to a completely different method of assessing the situation. Since we won the elections with a massive support, it was to be expected that a certain drop would be recorded after we began to rule. But the phenomenon is neither irreversible nor overwhelming. Our regional Front branches do not stand out, as has been stressed, for the simple reason that they are hampered by a certain stage fright. You may think that this is a paradox, but in fact a most ungentlemanly war has been waged against our party in the past eight months. At a certain point a feeling of guilt was created that we have no reason to feel. For example, I was not a party member. Nevertheless, since I became an FSN member and have been exposed to this unending barrage of accusations leveled at us, I began to ask myself: Could there be any real reasons for these accusations? I am convinced that there are no such reasons. I am convinced that we have nothing to fear. I am convinced that we don't have a fraudulent past, but on the contrary, a natural past. When the history of the past few months iswritten, increasingly wide patches of light will be shed on these dark corners in which such suspicions were born. I participated in the Revolution in Timisoara and I can categorically tell you that I know of no reasons to think that a hidden mechanism was set in motion at that time.

However, this artificially induced guilt feeling made us become very punctilious. For example, although we are a government party, we do not enjoy the privileges of power; the prefects we appointed do not cooperate with the regional FSN branches except on rare occasions. Their autonomy makes them deaf to our clearest wishes. Many regional Front branches have no offices, while the opposition parties have luxurious, or at least extremely well appointed offices. We are having difficulties handling the condition of a winner party. But I hope that we will acquire the experience that will enable us to regain our rightful authority.

[Muresan] The lower echelons had many objections about some of the members of local Front branches....

[Iordache] The Revolution is deciding its criteria as it goes along. It is understandable that in the first stage, the Revolution picked a first line—whom I call a "meritocracy"—which later had to cede the place to leaders who also had competence on their side. From this viewpoint, the situation is heterogenous.

[Muresan] The Front is preparing for a national convention. Are there any plans to clarify on that occasion the party status of the FSN and its social-democratic orientation? Are there any plans to change its name and program?

[Iordache] In a way, I am the coordinator of the preparations for the convention. We are seeking to ensure a new formulation of our platform and statute. We will further clarify our ideological profile. I hope that at the national convention we will be in a position to proclaim before the entire nation the existence of a social-democratic party, purely and simply. The matter of the name is a delicate issue. We are expecting some party member to get some tremendous idea on some inspired night. No decision has been made yet in this connection.

[Muresan] We have more than one social-democratic party, but none of them have demonstrated that they have their own, individualized political strategy. A

merger between them seems to me like the natural answer in this situation. Are we on the brink of a social-democratic unification within a Romanian social-democratic forum? Has the Front undertaken anything along this line? What are its relations with the PSDR [Romanian Social-Democratic Party]?

[Iordache] The Front has done very little along this line. For example, we have not decided on any direct relations with the PSDR. On the other hand, the PSDR still remembers another merger with the communist party which cost it very dearly. If the PSDR still feels that we are a disguised "neocommunist" party, then of course we don't want to argue the point. First and foremost we want to demonstrate to ourselves and to the people that we can offer the citizens an unadulterated social-democratic party structure.

The fact that the political forces are so thinly spread is of course an evil that we must eliminate. I hope that in, let's say, 12 months we will succeed in achieving this social-democratic union. This is our strategic objective!

[Muresan] Have steps been taken for the Front to become affiliated to the Socialist International?

[Iordache] Certain demarches have been made, but not definitive. Of course, we cannot expect too much along this line. As for the PSDR, its claim to life is its historical reputation. Unfortunately, it does not have a power base apt to give it the political pre-eminence that the leaders of this related party expect.

Besides, as you know, Romania's image—and the FSN's image even more so—in the world has been tarnished. We had only modest means of rectifying this image. First of all, because we are experiencing and ruling over an inevitable crisis in our society. Whoever is in power at the time of this crisis is responsible for it, and those who criticize this crisis government do so without offering any alternative solutions. I have repeatedly asked myself: if we invited the parties that criticize us so mercilessly to take over the crisis government, could they do it? I fear not. I am convinced that any of these parties would lose the power in a relatively short time. We are in a very uncomfortable position, because we are threatened from both the right and the left: some say that we are too hasty and cannot ensure social protection, others say we are too slow. In fact, I wonder who is actually pouring lead on the government's wings?....

[Muresan] Another question: Mr. Iliescu, who is still the spiritual leader of the Front if not its formal leader, has taken the initiative about organizing a dialogue with the opposition, but I don't know that the party has done anything about it. Does it mean to? Wouldn't it be a good idea if it were to finally initiate a process of reconciliation and political pacification?

[Iordache] I don't mind formulating an answer firmly resting on the truth. Our relations with the opposition have not been normal, also because of an organizational failing. It is, however, my task to establish relations, which are absolutely necessary, with the entire opposition, both with the parties and with the independent opposition. Consequently, we will soon invite both major parties and various apolitical movements to our party headquarters for contact talks. We are preparing to send invitations to the Group for Social Dialogue and the 15 November Association of Brasov, and we want to begin talks with the Timisoara Society. We do not fear such relations for the simple reason that we have no real motive for such fear. All we want is to together clarify the situations that they view as abnormal.

(Our interview would have ended here, if Mr. Gheorghe Scortan had not entered the room.

Instead of congratulating him on his recent appointment as FSN deputy chairman, we offered young sociologist Gh. Scortan another "recrimination" about the Front, naturally prompted by the noble intention of protecting the new leader from the danger of the self-congratulatory routine characteristic of "neocommunism!" Both the "recrimination" and his reply will appear in tomorrow's paper.)

Newspaper Issues Protest Letter to Government

AU2510141190 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 18 Oct 90 p 1

[TINERETUL LIBER letter: "To Romania's Government, for the Attention of Mr. Prime Minister Petre Roman"; first paragraph is TINERETUL LIBER introduction]

[Text] We were promised an answer to this letter by yesterday. This did not arrive. Consequently, we publish this letter and still await its answer.

To Romania's Government, for the attention of Mr. Prime Minister Petre Roman,

1. TINERETUL LIBER daily was born on 22 December 1989, around 1100 hours, when a group of persons made up of professional journalists and contributors decided to publish a "combat pamphlet," which was distributed free of charge, thanks to the voluntary efforts of the aforementioned people.

2. The name of TINERETUL LIBER was given the paper by its founding members on 22 December 1989.

3. At the refusal of the "CASA SCINTEII" Publishing Combine's management to print the paper, that particular TINERETUL LIBER issue appeared with the help of volunteer printers, after the group of persons who established this newspaper declared that they assumed material, civil, and legal responsibility for this action.

4. After the first issue, the editorial collective decided—on their own material, civil, and legal responsibility—to continue the free distribution of the newspaper until 1 January 1990. After that date, all expenses connected with the editing of the newspaper had to be covered from revenues received. If expenses could not be covered from these revenues, then the members of the editorial collective were supposed to equally compensate for the losses incurred.

5. The newspaper appeared some three weeks before the setting up of the "PRESA LIBERA" Publishing House, which initially played only an administrative role, for which it was appropriately paid a commission calculated on the basis of overall activities; the relations between the newspaper and the publishing house were strictly of a contractual nature.

6. The daily did not and does not have equipment or money belonging to the state or to any political organizations, such as the former Romanian Communist Party or Union of Communist Youth.

7. After the meetings when the editorial collective unanimously decided to set up the TINERETUL LIBER share-holding trade company with private capital—the shareholders being the current employees of the newspaper. The PRESA LIBERA Publishing House registered, in ill-faith, the TINERETUL LIBER trademark as its own property with the OSIM [expansion unknown]. Because this registration is illegal, it can be canceled at any time, in accordance with current legislation, something which will entail the payment of reparations by the publishing house to the TINERETUL LIBER company.

8. Since its founding, to this very day, TINERETUL LIBER daily has legally functioned as a civil society—a contract form regulated by the Civil Code currently in effect. The ownership right over TINERETUL LIBER newspaper and other publications edited under this name—WEEKEND and SUPLIMENTUL LITERAR-ARTISTIC AL TINERETULUI LIBER [THE LITERARY-ARTISTIC SUPPLEMENT OF TINERETUL LIBER]—belong to the aforementioned civil company.

9. There has never been any confusion over ownership between the owner civil company and the PRESA LIBERA Publishing House. If the contract relations between the company and the publishing house are no longer recognized by the publishing house, the contracts will be annulled and the PRESA LIBERA Publishing House will have to return all the money received on the basis of these contracts (the contract sides returning to their previous status).

10. The 10-month long observation of contacts between the publishing house and the company is tantamount to a de jure and de facto recognition of the civil company by the publishing house.

11. Steps have been taken, as of last April, to legalize the de jure status of the TINERETUL LIBER trade company. The Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Finance, and the Ministry of National Economy favorably endorsed our application, which called for a government decision in this matter. The necessary documentation for setting up our share-holding trade company was submitted to the government; the application received a favorable official answer through note No. 89 of 6 August 1990, signed by the head of the prime minister's Economic-Financial Control Body.

12. Following the favorable answer received from the government, the members of the TINERETUL LIBER civil company decided—after the new Law on Trade Societies takes effect—to register the TINERETUL LIBER company as a share-holding company, its share holders being the current employees of the newspaper.

13. We consider the abusive registration of the TINERETUL LIBER trademark by the PRESA LIBERA State Publishing House as an attempt by some government members to take advantage of the current legislative vacuum in the matter of trade companies and to subordinate the independent press to the interests of the current power.

14. We ask the government to urgently withdraw the registration of the TINERETUL LIBER trademark with OSIM as state property. We also demand the following:

—An end to all pressures against our newspaper;

—The public presentation of the government's official position regarding our newspaper;

—The removal of bureaucratic barriers to the recognition of our newspaper's legal status as share-holding trade company with private capital;

—The sanctioning of those guilty for the mentioned abuses.

If the aforementioned problems are not favorably solved by 17 October 1990, we reserve the right to take all necessary legal steps, including suing the guilty parties for reparations to our newspaper.

Aside from these steps, we will submit our case to the discussion of the domestic and international public opinion, by publishing available documents and convening a news conference on this subject with Romanian and foreign journalists.

Orthodox Clergy Holds National Conference

AU2510171090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0905 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/10/1990—The third national conference of the Romanian Orthodox Church was held in Bucharest on 23 and 24 October. From its agenda: the conference statute; how to improve the pastoral and economic-administrative work of the clergy; the church-school and church-state relationship.

Attending the debates were Patriarch Teoctist, and representatives of the Holy Synod, more than 300 clergymen.

The conference stated that a fundamental task of the church is to support and watch over by its own means the process towards liberty and democracy in a nation.

Wherefore, the Romanian Orthodox clergy blames any attempt to cause inter ethnic tension like at Tirgu Mures last march, social tension like in Bucharest on 13-15 June, and particularly inter-church tension like that between Greek Catholics and Orthodox.

On the recent social unrest in Bessarabia, the conference supports the appeal of the Romanian Patriarchy.

It was agreed that the fourth national conference convene in Iasi on 7-8 May 1991 and that invitations be sent out to representatives of the clergy of Bessarabia and of the Orthodox diaspora.

Princess Sofia Pays Visit to Timisoara

AU2510195090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1921 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/10/1990—Princess Sophia paid a visit to Timisoara. It is her second visit to the city on the Bega. She said she was happy to be again in her country which she wants to know better. "Romania is my country and I love it very much," Princess Sophia said, "and I want to meet a lot of people, I want to make many friends. I would like to meet people living in the countryside, unique in the world through its picturesqueness. On my previous visit to Timisoara people were more worried, more tired. After half a year only I see them differently: brighter, more open and more determined, more friendly and calmer. I am particularly happy that today, 25 October, I can celebrate my father's birthday here in Romania, in my country. The Romanian people are very gifted, sensitive and I would like to stress that those living in the West could learn a lot from them.

* Brucan Comments on Strikes, Role of Ratiu

91BA0002B Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 21 Sep 90 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Silviu Brucan by Anton Uncu; place and date not given: "Someone Must Say It"]

[Text] [Uncu] Mr. Brucan, many of your statements about the evolution of political and social phenomena in Romania seem to be coming true. This is one of the reasons that we want to hear your opinion about the current strikes.

[Brucan] I think that these strikes should be censured by public opinion and by each one of us.

[Uncu] You think that there is no justification for them? Do you really think that this specifically democratic form of struggle for rights can be condemned?

[Brucan] At this time, yes. I'm not saying that I am against strikes, and I'm not saying that there are not many good reasons for the strikes in Brasov and Constanta. Of course there are. But when trade union leaders speak of Western democracy, they forget that Western trade unions are governed by very strict laws; pay rises are demanded only when labor productivity and consequently, profits, increase. In our country it's the other way round. Salaries have increased about 40 percent, while the value of the production dropped 40 percent. This is a fact. Some plants go on strike because they don't have raw materials, so they cannot achieve their production, profits, and salaries, while raw and other materials and food cannot be unloaded in the port of Constanta because of the strike there. So how can the economy run?

[Uncu] That is because of the precedents that have been set, because this type of demands has been readily met for some occupations, especially before the elections.

[Brucan] The moratorium must be observed, otherwise the economy will be seriously destabilized.

[Uncu] It is seriously destabilized. Does a moratorium on pay demands followed by price increases stand any chance of being observed?

[Brucan] Mister! This is not the time to argue who was wrong and when, but to halt this downslide of the national economy. You're talking about this form of struggle characteristic of a democracy. Fine. Now please take down exactly what I say. At present every strike is an act against the economic reform and against democracy.

[Uncu] Why do you think so?

[Brucan] Because if continued, these strikes will bring the Romanian economy into such a terrible situation that people will begin to say that it was better under Ceausescu.

[Uncu] Or that democracy, as we are practicing it now, leads to chaos in the society and the economy, drops in the living standard, etc.

[Brucan] And do we want people to come to this conclusion? I went to the port of Constanta in August. There were dozens of unloaded vessels there. Tens of thousands of dollars paid for a berth. Vessels carrying raw materials, as I said. Where were the trade union leaders then? If we go on like this, we won't be able to pay even the present salaries, let alone pay rises. In some enterprises labor productivity has dropped so low that they don't even have the guts to talk about it. Stealing is rampant, and so is absenteeism.

[Uncu] That, Mr Brucan, is because the work ethics deteriorated, because after the revolution...

[Brucan] I know. That's right. The signal from the authorities was, no point in killing ourselves working as we did under the dictatorship...

[Uncu]...And no one thought, not even you, that in time this signal will boomerang against those who gave it?

[Brucan] I don't think that I can be accused of not reacting.

[Uncu] Nevertheless, how do you explain this grievous mistake? Is doiung anything to win electoral support an acceptable policy? Readily approving pay demands and adopting the five-day work week without any economic justification—weren't those a form of bribing the electorate?

[Brucan] I would describe it as a demagogical instinct.

[Uncu] And where does this demagogic instinct come from, Mr. Brucan?

[Brucan] It's another way of interpreting democracy, in the sense that the government must please the masses and cultivate their wishes and inclinations, which of course tend toward an easier life, less work, etc.

[Uncu] Let's say this is correct. I'm sure you know that Mr. Ratiu met with strikers in the port of Constanta who designated him as their spokesman. Which means that people trust Mr. Ratiu.

[Brucan] Just a moment! It is true that Mr. Ratiu is very experienced in port management, but...

[Uncu] Which is not good either. Although he is experienced and is trusted...

[Brucan] Mr. Ratiu has enough experience to know that pay demands must be linked to increases in labor productivity, otherwise the market economy is a goner.

[Uncu] I see. Why doesn't he say so to the port strikers? That is the problem, isn't it? Another case of inherited demagogic instinct? From where? From whom?

[Brucan] No. Mr. Ratiu is seeking a political base.

[Uncu] Let's stay with this, Mr. Brucan. In my opinion, the Romanian economy is mostly undermined by three basic crises: the state ownership crisis, the crisis of authority of enterprise managers elected by a majority of votes—another bequest that has become a reflex—and especially the crisis of competence.

[Brucan] No, sir! I think that the situation is simpler than that. What you, and not only you, forget, is the fact that there is no more centralized planning, while the market laws are not working yet. We must speed up the signing of contracts among economic enterprises, with considerable penalties for those who don't fulfill them. I know that once again I am saying unpopular things, but I can't help it, someone must say it.

* Point-by-Point Economic Reform Program

91BA0012A Bucharest AZI in Romanian
16 Sep 90 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed editorial: "The Reform, Point by Point"]

[Text] 1. UNBLOCKING THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURES: this is one of the standing objectives of the reform program. This objective is contained in all the programs and is also the subject of various direct measures and initiatives. The ongoing critical analysis of the economic situation outlines a picture rife with tension, with branches that waste great human, material, financial, and currency resources, and with serious imbalances, especially between capacities and resources, means of production and marketing, productivity and pay, etc.

In order to resolve this situation we need programs for investment and for funneling domestic and foreign capital to branches capable of yielding immediate results (like agriculture, food industry, light industry, housing), and programs to lay off and rechannel the labor force and to redistribute the manpower and work resources; we need to finalize development programs and submit them to the World Bank (IBRD), and other international financial and monetary institutions.

The price liberalization and the transition to a convertible leu, in correlation with drawing foreign capital for ventures of interest to both our country and neighboring countries, will also help unblock the economic structures.

This objective requires the organization of a monitoring center [dispecerat] and an appropriate computerized system to which all the competent ministries and the Government as a whole must be connected. The mission of this center will be to temporarily or permanently close down certain units, organize retraining programs, and rechannel the labor force and means of production to other branches. All these objectives must be included and correlated in the economic program for the transition period of the Governmental Commission for Economic Development Conjuncture, Forecast, and Orientation.

2. REORGANIZATION OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES: this measure is designed to establish new production and management structures at both mezoeconomic (ministry) and microeconomic (enterprise) levels, which will permit:

a. the withdrawal of the state administration agencies from the direct management of the economy;

b. resizing the economic units and adapting them to the principle of the smallest functionally autonomous entity, for the purpose of:

—facilitating the process of organization and management;

—identifying and separating unprofitable economic units or subunits from profitable ones;

—facilitating the reorientation of units in keeping with market demands;

—facilitating the process of supply of raw materials, assemblies, and parts;

—facilitating the process of retraining the labor force and refunneling it to more profitable activities;

c. establish institutions and structures—at governmental level, too—to replace the command system in the economy by a system of orientation and indirect (encouraging or inhibiting) influence over the production and marketing flows; along this line, the entire planning system will be revised, and the Governmental Commission for Economic Development Conjuncture, Forecast, and Orientation will immediately draft a plan providing guidelines, indications, and recommendations;

d. gradually eliminate the serious imbalance between production capacities and resources, and between the structure and volume of production on the one hand, and the structure and volume of demand on the other; this will require:

—closing down, after the lapse of subsidy terms and programs, the units that do not have resources or sale markets, while retraining their labor force and rechanneling it to other sectors;

—changing the profile of and/or reducing the size of unprofitable units, also by introducing new technologies;

—establishing new units in correlation with the resources available and the power of absorption of the markets to which they have access, especially in the sector of small and medium capacities, and by drawing private Romanian and foreign capital;

—reducing to a minimum the enterprises in the strategic sectors, which will continue to be financed by the state.

The completed reorganization of the ministries (envisaged in a bill already issued) will be followed by a process of organization of the state enterprises as commercial firms and societies, and by the appointment of administrative councils. The most sensitive issues in this respect will be to correctly assess their assets and to split up industrial giants into small and efficient enterprises, on the basis of Law No. 15/1990 which came into effect on 9 September 1990.

The new, smaller enterprises will be permitted and even encouraged to associate and form cartels, for the purpose of:

—producing more competitive exports;

—achieving technological research and development programs;

—carrying out major investment programs.

The organization of economic activities in line with the laws of a market economy will also be assisted by the effects of the reorganization of the banking, insurance, and financial control systems, and by the incipient organization of a capital market in the form of a stock market (planned for the first quarter of 1991).

Training programs for the members of administrative councils and eneterprise managements will help eliminate mistakes and inhibitions in the process of adapting the economic units to the stringent requirements of a market economy. The National Privatization Agency, the universities, and professional associations will organize postgraduate programs and courses.

Appropriate financial, fiscal, monetary, and credit levers will be made available for organizing and managing economic activities, for the purpose of encouraging efficient projects and inhibiting costly ones.

Macedonian Parties Send Message to Balkan Meeting

AU2510141690 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Strumica—A just solution to the Macedonian national question in neighboring countries is one of the major prerequisites for peace, cooperation, confidence, and respect among the Balkan peoples. This is said in the telegram sent from the meeting of the central committees of MAAK [Movement for All-Macedonian Action] and VMRO—DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization—Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity], the Republican Committee of the Democratic Alliance—Macedonian Farmers Party, and the Strumica Communal Craftsmen Association sent to the ministers of foreign affairs of Balkan countries attending conference in Tirana.

The text will be read at the protest meetings which are to be held at border crossings with Bulgaria and Greece today.

Further on Message Sent to Tirana

LD2510144590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1314 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Strumica, Southern Macedonia, 25 Oct (TANJUG)—A just settlement of the Macedonian national question in neighbouring countries is one of the main conditions for peace, cooperation, trust and respect among Balkan nations, the Balkan foreign ministers were told in a letter sent by representatives of four parties in Yugoslavia's southernmost republic of Macedonia.

The letter, addressed to the six Balkan foreign ministers holding a session in Tirana, says that Balkan will stop being one of the major crisis points in the world only when it abolishes borders and introduces a free flow of people, ideas and capital, which is also essential for its joining Europe.

Some associations of Macedonians threatened to block all border crossings to Greece, Bulgaria and Albania today.

Macedonia, until 1912 a single territory, was split after the first Balkan war between the then states of Bulgaria, Greece and Serbia.

Macedonians are recognized as a separate nation only in Yugoslavia, where two million of them live in a republic equal in status to other Yugoslav republics. One-third of Macedonians, however, live outside Macedonia.

'Majority' of Border Crossings Blocked

AU2510215790 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] As a sign of protest at the Macedonian national issue being left off the agenda of the second Balkan ministerial conference in Tirana, the majority of border crossings on the territory of Macedonia leading to Bulgaria, Greece, and Albania were blocked on the stroke of noon today. The organizers of the blockade, which lasted several hours at border crossings at Strumica, Delcev, Stari Dojran, Gevgelija, Bitolj, Debar, and Struga, were members of the Association of Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia based in Bitolj and the Macedonian World Congress from Gevgelija.

Protest meetings under the slogan, the Balkans without frontiers, were held at border crossings where representatives of the aforementioned associations and private (?craftsmen) spoke. It was stressed that Macedonia has always been an apple of discord between the Balkan bourgeosies and that the Macedonian people have been divided into three parts against their will since the Balkan wars and the First World War.

The telegrams which were sent to the ministerial meeting in Tirana were also read out. The telegrams demanded that the Balkans be turned into a region where people, ideas, and capital would be able to move freely.

Blockade Lasts Three Hours

LD2510220790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2111 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Skopje, 25 Oct (TANJUG)—Most border crossings in the territory of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia with Bulgaria, Greece and Albania were blocked at noon today in protest against the non-consideration of the Macedonian national question at the second Balkan ministerial conference which closed in Tirana today.

The Governments of Bulgaria, Greece and Albania do not recognize the existence of the Macedonian national minority.

Representatives of opposition parties mostly spoke at protest rallies organized during the three-hour blockade. They pointed out that the just resolving of the Macedonian national question in these neighbouring countries is an important factor of peace, cooperation and understanding in the Balkans.

A telegram was read at the rallies which was addressed to the ministerial meeting in Tirana asking that the Balkan peninsula become a region without borders and where no visas will be necessary, with a free transit of people, ideas and capital.

The participants in a rally at the Delcevo border crossing with Bulgaria sent a protest to the Yugoslav Government because the agenda of the ministerial conference in Tirana did not include the Macedonian question.

Possibility, Feasibility of Military Coup Viewed

AU2510203390 Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 16 Oct 90 pp 15-17

[Jelena Lovric article: "A Scenario for Coup d'Etat"]

[Excerpts] Last week, on the front page of this magazine we showed the delegate's briefcase flying through the Croatian Assembly, thus turning the Assembly into a

venue of conflicts, albeit not only verbal ones. This week, however, railroad tracks were also flying after having been blown up by an evil hand which was unambiguously invoking war. Will this country of ours, under which explosives have long been openly planted, be blown up next week? Because one would only have to activate the fuse at the right time. Milan Kucan recently said that he feared an outcome to the Yugoslav crisis is coming very quickly. He said this on the occasion of the SFRY Presidency session at which Borisav Jovic perpetrated a real coup and—forgetting that he is supposed to be the president of all citizens of this country—he clearly decided in favor of one side, not even shrinking from undignified manipulations. Kucan concluded that "it has become clear that Serbian politicians want to force an outcome on the others before their own elections take place." This is one of the reasons why they are trying to remove the Slovenes from the Yugoslav debate, pushing them into an even quicker secession. For this reason—which is now its main aim and in which it has found common interests with some other, rather powerful forces—Serbia is making some other moves as well.

Some people think that the fact that Jovic has publicly decided in favor of the federal option—a decision which is at variance with all previous agreements and contrary to the function of the Presidium which, being a collective head of the joint state, should refrain from showing unfounded approval or disapproval—is in fact preparing the ground for a military coup, something which has recently been hinted at by several sources. Even the date is mentioned, sometime at the end of this week, during the Federal Assembly session. The fact that this possibility is spoken about in such a way calls into question the seriousness of the guess. For, the first condition of carrying out such operations with success is their being secret.

There are, nevertheless, some signs that might make one conclude that something is happening in the Army. A strange silence has been reigning in these circles recently. It is not only that the self-assured Army spokesman Vuk Obradovic has been silent for some time. In an article which only lacks the date for the military coup, Sarajevo NEDJELJA says that this silence is meaningful. Claiming that it is only "researching some variants of our close future," the article asserts that "apart from the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA], there are no more integrational elements in this country." ("Because the political crisis seems hardly at all to worry Ante Markovic. He hardly speaks about the disintegration of the country." "The party, that is, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, no longer exists.") So an action by the forces "having a unified infrastructure and a unified information system" is announced very clearly. The article adds that the Army will not allow the country to be broken apart (although it is heard very frequently nowadays, this is a really strange statement, because for as long as two to three years the Army has been calmly watching the country being forcefully divided). and it claims that the "majority of the population would welcome the JNA action in preventing national conflicts in Yugoslavia." The article also refutes all arguments usually used to prove that such an Army intervention is impossible.

Civil war, which is often mentioned as the first result of the possible army coup, will not break out because there is no force to start it. "Which people would grab a gun and set off against another people and the regular army?" Moreover, "in the case of a real coup, the Army would not allow the people a single moment to rise up." [passage omitted]

Unlike such articles which provide a justification for military intervention, presenting it as salvation—and with whose messages the Army perhaps has really nothing to do—in a recent article about the possibility of a "communist counterrevolution," Vladimir Gligorov says that it "involves the imposition of a military dictatorship" and that in a country in which there is "complete insecurity about whether there will be any 'future' at all," the general feeling is suitable for such an action. [passage omitted] Gligorov says that "there is still a sufficient number of loyal communists," that "the Army and police apparatus has not been affected at all by the situation," and that what their "communist counterrevolution" is meant to achieve is so anachronistic that "the state would really have to be endangered for such a solution to be acceptable."

The fact that Vladimir Gligorov's ponderings are not mere speculations, but are very well-founded, is proven by the existence of some strange coalitions that have been evident recently. Addressing Cacak veterans not so long ago, Colonel General Stevan Mirkovic, who was chief of the General Staff before he retired, started evaluating the political situation in Croatia, particularly in its regions which "spontaneously rebelled," and said that the Yugoslav top military leadership will not allow the "disintegration of Yugoslavia." Mirkovic then said that this was said at the meeting of the highest JNA personalities held on 22 September and chaired by Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense. Mirkovic's assertions have so far not been denied.

What Was Discussed at Secret Meetings

Sarajevo AS writes—and some other sources confirm—that this was only one in a series of such meetings of the top Yugoslav military leadership which analyzed political events and suggested measures which the Army may carry out. Some republics' political representatives were invited to attend some of these meetings in order to be informed about the information acquired by the Army about the events in the country and their political background. AS has learned that the top military leadership was particularly upset by the alleged fact that electoral activities of some political parties in Slovenia and Croatia (and now in Bosnia-Hercegovina as well) "are financed directly from abroad, or, more precisely, by foreign, mostly espionage sponsors." It is said that at the session of the Council for the Protection of the Constitutional Setup of Yugoslavia held more than a month ago, military circles informed the state leadership

of Yugoslavia that the Croatian Democratic Community had received somewhat over $20 million for the spring elections allegedly from some American sources (according to an assumption expressed later, the money involved was the CIA's). According to what was said then, as learned by military services (KOS) [Counterintelligence Service], the money was received in Croatia via a Hungarian tourist agency. The Army counterintelligence men have allegedly registered similar activities carried out by foreign services in Slovenia, too. According to the same sources, a virtual siege of Bosnia-Hercegovina has currently been going on with "dozens of agents of various foreign services" being active on its territory "with the only and basic task of destroying the communist setup in Yugoslavia and helping those political parties which have proclaimed such an aim for the coming elections." [passage omitted]

Well-informed sources claim that the Army has been a very active participant in the attempts to renew the League of Communists. After their ally, Slobodan Milosevic, adorned himself with emperor's new clothes and turned his back on them, the Army orthodox communists found themselves left in the lurch. However, they are trying to resume their positions today on the basis of the doubtless disappointment with the results of multiparty elections which has been evident both in the parts of the country where they took place (because nothing much has changed for the better) and even more so where they still have not taken place and from where, when watching other people's experience through the fence, it seems that everything has changed for the worse. Ignoring the fact that one must go through that stage—because if one does not, the only thing that is certain is civilizational backwardness—this coalition of the orthodox and people who've proven themselves would like to stop the wheel of history or to turn it back. They seem to want to freeze Yugoslavia in a form that it has already passed and to force it to repeat the experience of Romania (is it a coincidence that Kadijevic has been paying a visit to that country these days?) and Bulgaria. [passage omitted]

The Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] in Bosnia-Hercegovina is now trying to forestall or undermine the multiparty elections in that republic. The SDS was the only party in Bosnia-Hercegovina to fail to sign the recent interparty agreement that, no matter who wins these elections, new ones will be held in two years. There are hints that the SDS will call for the elections to be boycotted which would make their course and outcome completely uncertain. It was said at the big pan-Serbian meeting in Banja Luka on Saturday that the constitutional amendments and electoral law adopted in Bosnia-Hercegovina are harmful to the Serbian people. Therefore, the first decision made at the meeting was that the Serbian people are not going to recognize any decision to change the character of Bosnia- Hercegovina apart from the one which will be adopted at a referendum of the Serbian people. Claiming that they will not give up the idea of living in the same state with Serbia, and that therefore they do not want confederation, Serbs in Bosnia have formed the Serbian National Council, a similar body to the one already existing illegally in Serbian regions in Croatia as parallel authorities, and which has a military function among its other vital functions. A special proclamation issued on that occasion said that "the Serbian people have expressed their political will that they do not want to accept the division of Serbian territories or the Serbian people" and that they manifest "resoluteness to establish national integrity and completeness, as well as spiritual, cultural, and, if conditions are such, political unity as well." [passage omitted]

When addressing visiting federal officials, the leading outlaw, Dusan Zelembaba, shamelessly boasted that "the Serbian people in Croatia will not agree to the breakup of the Yugoslav community and to life in an independent Croatian state against which they are going to fight 'using the methods of the IRA and the Basque movement.'" The aim of that fight is to replace "the present Ustasha authorities." At the same time, Zelembaba claimed that "the conditions are ripe for proclaiming a state of emergency and for the JNA and federal organs to take over power in Croatia." Was the self-assured terrorist merely incautious and divulged something that has been planned and organized, or did his words have nothing to do with those people he was mentioning? However, the Army has not dissociated itself from such claims. At the same time, the wrath of the Croatian people is growing to the extent that passions may result in a clash. People in Imotski recently decided to go to the "Ban Jelacic celebrations" in Zagreb using strong means of transportation, that is with excavators and bulldozers, so that they would be able to drive over anything in their way. They have not even considered calling the Army to help.

The worse thing that can happen to the JNA is to be seen differently by members of different ethnic groups. It has failed to remove that danger in time: A large part of Yugoslavia sees the Army today as the cat's paw or champion of Serbian politicians. It has often caused this feeling itself. Thus the latest issue of NARODNA ARMIJA carries an article entitled "The Army Has Offered Refuge to the People" about people from Petrinja who fled their homes in fear and were accommodated in barracks. Would the same be possible if the people in question were Albanians, for example? The fact that such a thing is even hard to imagine is a sufficient explanation of why some peoples and nationalities in Yugoslavia today no longer see the JNA as their protector.

FEC Discusses Constitutional Amendments, Knin

LD2510235990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1619 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Oct (TANJUG)—The Federal Executive Council [FEC] session today, chaired by Ante Markovic, adopted a report on the state of traffic in the Knin area submitted by Joze Slokar, federal secretary for

transport and communications and FEC member, following his recent visit to this area.

The FEC assessed that railway traffic in the Knin area is gradually normalizing. It is necessary for representatives of federal organs to maintain their regular communications with representatives of the Croatia Assembly Executive Council as well as with the executive councils of the municipalities in this area to create conditions for dialogue and a relaxed atmosphere in which shared solutions to the key problems can be devised.

The FEC will insist that all state organs exercise their legal authority and ensure that all vital and social functions are carried out.

FEC representatives will continue their activities together with the relevant organs of the Republic of Croatia as well as with the executive councils of the municipalities in the Knin area to take measures to improve the serious economic situation in this area.

The FEC set the guaranteed price of 1991 wheat at 2.15 dinars per kilo. The price was arrived at by adding production cost increases over the past four months to the guaranted price for this year's crop, 1.93 dinars.

The FEC considered the reforms and measures implemented consistently as well as the political, economic, and security situation in the country. To this effect it analyzed the situation stemming from the suspension of federal legislation in certain republics. It concluded on the basis of this that federal organs should secure the enforcement of federal legislation without any delay and ensure that federal state organs function.

Proceeding from its constitutional authority, the FEC will further investigate the constitutional amendments adopted and take measures to ensure that multiparty elections are held in a peaceful and democratic way and that all conflicts in the country are resolved democratically. In this context it counts on the support of those democratic forces in the country, and to a certain extent in the world too, who favor the socioeconomic reforms in Yugoslavia and its integrity. The FEC will prepare a statement for the Yugoslav Assembly and the public on all these issues and suggest to the SFRY Assembly that FEC President Ante Markovic submit a report on this.

Government Stresses Implementation of Federal Laws

LD2610084190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2305 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Oct (TANJUG)—Federal organs must immediately ensure the implementation of the federal laws, the Yugoslav Government concluded today, after an analysis of the situation created by the suspension of federal laws in individual republics.

The Republic of Slovenia has recently suspended 27 federal laws and Serbia has announced the introduction of special taxes on goods from Slovenia and Croatia, in order to protect its economy.

The federal government, it was announced, will continue its efforts for the adoption of amendments to the Yugoslav Constitution and take steps to ensure the holding of multi-party elections in a peaceful and democratic manner. Here the government counts on the support of those democratic forces in the country, and the world, which favour socio-economic reforms in Yugoslavia and Yugoslavia's integrity.

The Yugoslav Government assessed that the railway traffic in the Knin region in Croatia was being gradually normalized. Railway traffic in this part of Croatia has recently been disrupted on several occasions, when unidentified persons planted explosives on the tracks.

POLITIKA Reporters Criticize Editorial Policy

LD2610085190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2328 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Oct (TANJUG)—The assembly of the Independent Trade Union of Journalists of the Belgrade publishing house POLITIKA on Thursday [25 October] set its executive board the task to deal with the question of objective informing in publications issued by POLITIKA.

This is not the first time that a group of journalists from POLITIKA, which has a century-long tradition, expressed dissatisfaction over the editorial policy.

The participants at the assembly of the independent trade union also lent support to their colleagues in newspapers in the province of Vojvodina and in the daily, SLOBODNA DALMACIJA (Republic of Croatia) who, as set out, are exposed to pressures exerted by political structures. Members of POLITIKA's independent trade union also protested over the fact that the Yugoslav independent television station, Yutel, whose founding was initiated by the federal government of Premier Ante Markovic, is not being broadcast.

Television Belgrade this evening reported that the first program of the Yutel television station, broadcast on Tuesday [23 October] evening from Sarajevo's television studio, was not carried by seven of Yugoslavia's eight television centers.

Television Belgrade also said it would broadcast Yutel only if it was carried by all other television centers throughout Yugoslavia and also if its program orientation proved that it was not a station of the party which was founded by Yugoslav Premier Ante Markovic.

Parties Granted 90 Minutes of Radio Airtime

AU2510204290 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] A meeting has been held in Radio Belgrade with representatives of registered parties on the way in which their programs and candidates will be presented in the election campaign.

Each party will have an hour and a half on all Radio Belgrade channels. Out of this, the parties will program half an hour completely by themselves, while an hour will be prepared with the help of announcers in the studio. Each party will also choose five of their commercials [promocija] which will be broadcast during daily news programs.

Apart from this, Radio Belgrade will follow all events which they assess, on the basis of professional criteria, to be politically relevant.

The greatest problem was deciding when to begin this program since the law prescribes that parties and candidates can be presented only when they have announced that they are to take part in the elections. Since no one has done this yet—it does not have to be done until two weeks before the elections— it was agreed that the promotion of parties would begin next week so as not to run out of time. Lots will be drawn on Monday [29 October] to decide on the order in which the parties will present themselves, and the first program in the framework of the election obligations of Radio Belgrade will be broadcast on Wednesday between 1000 [0900 GMT] and 1030 and between 1700 and 1800.

Jovic, Others Attend Krivolak Military Exercise

LD2510184890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1210 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Negotino on the Vadar, 25 Oct (TANJUG)—In the framework of regular visits by members of the SFRY Presidency to the Armed Forces, SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic, Army General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, and Dr. Vladimir Mitkov, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, today attended a tactical exercise at the Krivolak firing range involving target firing. The exercise was carried out by some units of the 3d Military District and by Air Force and air defense units.

The exercise was a test of the combat and specialist military training which young soldiers have been carrying out over the past few months at military barracks on firing ranges. Under conditions simulating realistic war situations, the participants demonstrated a high degree of devotion and training in carrying out the complex tactical tasks and actions. Expertise in the handling of personal arms, artillery, other weapons, and modern warfare systems was demonstrated. The coordinated action of armored and artillery units and fighter-bomber and helicopter contingents in the Air Force was particularly impressive.

Immediately upon completion of the exercise, President Jovic and Gen. Kadijevic met participants. President Jovic paid high tribute to the soldiers and officers for their exceptional devotion and the results they achieved.

During his talks with soldiers and officers, President Jovic stressed that the whole unit had operated as one. Everything functioned exceptionally well, and the organization of the exercise was irreproachable, which is also borne out by the information that all targets had been hit. Everything was perfect. You carried out your tasks successfully. We followed today's exercise attentively and we are very satisfied with your readiness.

Zadar-Knin Rail Track Bombed, Damaged Again

LD2610135190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1303 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Excerpt] Knin, 26 Oct (TANJUG)—According to an anonymous tip-off, which was confirmed this morning, last night around 2000 as yet unidentified perpetrators once again blew up the Zadar-Knin railway line between the towns of Kistanje and Benkovac, near the Dalmatinska Ostrovica station.

One meter of track was damaged in the oblast. It is expected that the line will be in operation some time today. [passage omitted]

Croatia's Tudjman Advocates Confederative System

AU2510170590 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 25-26 Oct 90 p 3

[Interview with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman by Samo Kobenter in Zagreb; date not given: "It Is Intended To Solve the Problem With an Act of Terror"]

[Text] [Kobenter] Mr. President, a week ago an attack on you was prevented at the last moment. Are you afraid?

[Tudjman] No. I know that in this country there is a certain inclination to shoot down Croatian parliamentarians. Just think of the Croatian politician Stjepan Radic, for instance, who was assassinated in 1928. Even today certain circles still defile the reputation of the late Tito, because he was a Croat and wanted to build a federation that is based on the equal rights of all republics. This murderous mental attitude also gave rise to Gavrilo Princip, who killed the heir to the Austrian throne in 1914. However, it was not the first attempted attack on me. We received information from two European states that attackers are plotting who want to solve the country's problems with an act of terror.

[Kobenter] The former Serbian politicians accuse you of nationalism. Is the reerection of the monument of Ban Jelacic in Zagreb a nationalist gesture?

[Tudjman] This act is very important for us Croats. With this we want to give a sign that we have put an end to the antidemocratic policy and the policy that is aimed against Croatia. We want a renewal of all positive traditions of Croatian history in order to consolidate our democracy on this basis and to keep pace with the free Western world. Serbia's accusations prove that it does not like Croatia's democracy. Everything that does not correspond to their pan-Serbian plans is fascism for them.

[Kobenter] Abroad one repeatedly hears reassuring words from Croatia and Slovenia as regards the danger of a civil war. How does this fit in with the mobilization of Croatian reservists?

[Tudjman] We have repeatedly affirmed that we want to prevent a civil war in any case. But those who pull the strings of the communist one-party system in Yugoslavia obviously want war. In any case, we have shown the determination to defend ourselves against it and, if necessary, to mobilize all the people to defend freedom and democracy. The mobilization was supposed to show Serbia that we do not want to stop at words and that we will not capitulate—but also that we will not let ourselves be provoked.

[Kobenter] Croatia's and Slovenia's plan for a confederation was rejected by Serbia. Which details caused this decision?

[Tudjman] The Serbs are principally against any kind of sovereignty of the individual republics, in particular, against those of Croatia and Slovenia. They want to establish a centralist and unitarian Yugoslavia as it was in the past. In other words, they want the unlimited dominance of the Serbs, they even want to push the Slovenes out of Yugoslavia, to be able to more easily jump on Croatia, Bosnia, and Hercegovina. There they cooly include the Serbian minority in their calculations. At the same time, it is claimed that Croatia's democratically founded state system is fascist.

[Kobenter] Thus Serbia is undermining even the attempt to further strengthen democracy?

[Tudjman] Correct. They even attack us when we come out decidedly in favor of a confederation of all individual republics—thus, of a common Yugoslav state, which, however, does not call into question Croatia's independence. However, until yesterday in Croatia all key positions were occupied by Serbs. Measured by the total population, there are 11 to 12 percent of Serbs in Croatia. But up to 60 percent of the posts that are important for the state are occupied by Serbs.

[Kobenter] Even though Serbia rejects the confederation, efforts for sovereignty also crop up there. How do these approaches fit together?

[Tudjman] This is the irrational Serbian policy. Everything has its place: The suppression of human rights in Serbia itself, the restriction of any kind of autonomy of 2 million Albanians. And in Croatia 12 percent of the Serbs are pretending to be—I would almost say—the "Herrenvolk." This is completely irrational.

[Kobenter] Is the process of democratization, which Croatia and Slovenia have initiated, supported abroad?

[Tudjman] Yes. The United States supports us because our efforts have never harbored the danger of a civil war. We have never said that we want to destroy Yugoslavia. Each people is striving for sovereignty and independence. We want to achieve this condition within Yugoslavia on the basis of a confederation, if possible following the example of the EC. In any case, we will not permit any policy anymore which endangers Croatia's economic and demographic existence as it was done in the past. Remember that over the past decades one-third of our population had to emigrate.

[Kobenter] How do you assess the policy of the Austrian chancellor, who has been rather restrained in this regard?

[Tudjman] Chancellor Vranitzky is exercising utmost restraint. Perhaps it is a bit too much restraint, since one should think of the fact that Yugoslavia can never get out of the crisis without a democratic reorganization and cannot be a guarantor of peace in this region. A similar mistake was made by Great Britain and France with their Versailles policy before the war. Yugoslavia can continue to exist only as a confederation. However, if we are talking of Serbia and Croatia, we are talking about two different worlds—also and above all in terms of culture.

As regards the support for our ideas, the European states are a bit restrained, in contrast to the United States. It is time to support us more openly. However, we basically understand the policy of the Vienna government. It is clear that it conducts its relations via the Belgrade authorities.

[Kobenter] In the person of Stipe Mesic, a Croatian has entered the Belgrade State Presidency, who will become president of the State Presidency in spring as a result of the rotation principle. Will he be the president of Yugoslavia or of a loose confederation?

[Tudjman] We will see.

[Kobenter] Do you agree with the hypothesis that one just has to wait for the democratic elections in all individual republics? Afterwards the Yugoslav federation will disintegrate all by itself....

[Tudjman] No, this is not true. The democratic elections in the individual republics will only mean the end of the communist one-party system and open up the opportunity of a democratic dialogue between all individual republics. This establishes the preconditions for an agreement on the possibility of coexistence in Yugoslavia or it opens up a democratic dialogue on other options.

Croatian Presidency Statement Congragulates Mesic

LD2510230590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1903 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Zagreb, 25 Oct (TANJUG)—Congratulations to Stjepan Mesic on his election to the SFRY Presidency, the Presidency said that one more institutional victory has been achieved, although many institutional and noninstitutional problems remain open, says a statement from the session of the Presidency of the Republic of Croatia.

The unnecessarily created tension surrounding the election of the representative of the Republic of Croatia to the Federal Presidency has died down, the statement stresses, and a new regrouping of forces is underway at the federal level in favor of the federal option, which creates more space for seeking a new historical agreement.

Credit was given to the Croatian delegation in both chambers of the SFRY Assembly for their principled stand despite the efforts to introduce divisions in their ranks on a party or national basis. The Croatian leadership continues to be openly in favor of dialogue in the search for joint solutions to a way out of the crisis, in the conviction that a final agreement is possible after free elections are carried out in all republics. The Presidency considers that in many issues being raised in the SFRY Presidency and assembly, the views of the Federal Executive Council are being ignored in questions within its competence. The Presidency reiterates its earlier stand that both proposals on the confederal and federal structure of the country must be given equal treatment in the SFRY Assembly, and considers that the sovereign republics should state their views on this.

It is also felt that the Yugoslav People's Army reacted slowly and inadequately to the theft of weapons in the Knin region. It is also necessary to raise in the SFRY Assembly the question of the accountability of certain top military personnel whose statements led to the increase in tensions in Croatia and elsewhere. It is expected of the Army that, in keeping with the processes throughout Europe, it should continue with the process of internal democratization and depoliticization, and take a clearer stand on the terroristic methods used in the Knin region.

"The latest decisions of the Serbian Government on the suspension of some federal laws and regulations undermine the foundations for talks on future relations in Yugoslavia because they break up the joint market, the customs and tax systems, etc., which is the minimum requirement for every model of partnership [zajednistvo] of the Yugoslav peoples. Croatia will be forced to examine measures for the protection of its interests if the Serbian Government begins applying these measures."

Examining the situation in connection with the Knin uprising, the Presidency notes that the policy of patience is already yielding results. The worst scenario was avoided and the climate is being created in which negotiations are possible. Croatia will request that the federal government, including the Army, adopt a more resolute stand in view of concrete problems in this region, especially concerning the clearing of roads. The Croatian Government should renew its invitation to talks with legitimate representatives of riot-stricken municipalities. It proposes that the party talks between HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] and SDS [Serbian Democratic Party]—which have been initiated—should be extended to include representatives of other parties represented in the Croatian Assembly, especially those representing the majority of Serbs in Croatia.

A council was also set up at the session of the Croatian Presidency for the cultural autonomy of Serbs in Croatia. It will examine the proposal of the working group which has already started to prepare a model of cultural autonomy in Croatia. The lifting of road blockades and the end of violence are conditions for any form of serious talks. The Presidency maintains the stand that financial assistance should be given to the collectives and institutions in the riot-torn municipalities, but expects them to dissociate themselves from the violence of a militant minority in their environment.

The Presidency intends to devote greater attention to cadre policy, and at the same time maintains that it is not normal that the legal officials who were ordered to try innocent people at staged trials should keep their jobs, the final portion of the Croatian Presidency session communique stated.

Croat Presidency on Progress of 'Federal Option'

LD2610092590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2324 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Zagreb, 25 Oct (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia today assessed that another regrouping of forces was in progress in Yugoslavia at the federal level in favour of the federal option, which opened scope for the quest for a new historic agreement.

The Croatian Presidency reiterated its stand that both the proposal for a confederation and for a federation for Yugoslavia must receive equal treatment in the federal parliament. In a statement, the republican Presidency stresses it is convinced that final agreement is possible after the holding of free elections in all the Yugoslav republics.

At the same time, the latest decisions of the government of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia to suspend some federal laws and regulations are being assessed as undermining the foundations for talks on future relations in Yugoslavia because they disrupt the common market and the tariff and tax system.

It is also assessed that Croatia will have to re-examine the measures for the protection of its interests, if the measures of the Serbian Government are implemented.

The Croatian Presidency assessed that patient policy has begun to yield results in the Knin region (?where) the Serbian population has rebelled, and that a climate is being created in which talks are possible. The Presidency also announced that it today formed a council for the cultural autonomy of Serbs in Croatia and that this cultural autonomy is being drafted. It has also been announced that Croatia will demand a more decisive stand of the federal government, including the Army, on concrete problems in the region, specially the deblocking of the roads.

Croat Ban on Communist Rally in Split Lifted

LD2510193390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1625 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Split, 25 Oct (TANJUG)—The Ministry of the Interior of Yugoslavia's Republic of Croatia today lifted a ban on a communist rally in the Adriatic town of Split, following protests by several political parties.

The rally has been scheduled for Saturday, October 27, to commemorate the 46th anniversary of the town's liberation from Nazi occupation.

On October 17, the ministry banned all open-air rallies on the territory of the Republic, which is facing growing tensions in the regions populated by Croats and Serbs following the coming to power of the Croatian Democratic Union (CDU) [HDZ] party.

The October 27 rally is to be addressed by Ivica Racan, the leader of the opposition League of Communists of Croatia - Party of Democratic Change. The party was in power in Croatia from the end of World War Two until the first free multiparty elections in that Republic last spring.

In addition to the Communists, the move was also protested by the Split branch of the United Yugoslav Democratic Initiative and the League of Social Democrats, who described the ban as a gross, non-democratic violation of basic civil rights and liberties.

Detained Kosovo Assembly Delegates To Be Released

LD2510153590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1242 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Pristina, 25 Oct (TANJUG)—The Supreme Court of the Yugoslav Province of Kosovo has ruled that the four ethnic Albanian delegates of the dissolved provincial Assembly, charged with participating in the illegal passage of the so-called Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo in early September, be released from detention.

The four, Nazif Matosi, Raif Rambaja, Ismail Sahati, and Fatos Pulja, are under investigation for the criminal act of "association for the purpose of hostile activities."

The four Kosovo Assembly delegates were arrested a few days after it was made public that the "Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo" was adopted by ethnic Albanian delegates of the dissolved provincial assembly. The "Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo" proclaimed Kosovo's secession from the Republic of Serbia.

Assembly Delegates Propose Resolution on Kosovo

AU2510211390 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] A group of ethnic Albanian Kosovo delegates in the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly has submitted a proposal for a resolution to be adopted on establishing a constitutional situation in Kosovo.

As a reason for this, the delegates stress the allegedly unconstitutional situation created by laws and other regulations of the Serbian Assembly. They also mention the dissolution of the Assembly of Kosovo and its Executive Council, the introduction of temporary measures in some Kosovo collectives, and, as they say, the dismissal of more than 30,000 Albanian workers. They also repeat the claim that the introduction of special measures in Kosovo legalized police terror, apartheid, and national inequality.

Situation in Kosovo Schools, Economy Viewed

AU2610102790 Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 21 Oct 90 p 4

[Blerim Reka and Emin Azemi report: "The Albanians Cannot Be Excluded From Political Discussions in Yugoslavia"]

[Text] Pristina, 20 Oct—Kosovo these days goes on in the same old way, in expectation and terror of what the morrow may bring. It is no longer news, for there have been similar cases in previous days, but 40 workers have been suspended at the Titova Mitrovica health center, and 101 from the Pristina "Sloga" hotel enterprise, while there have also been dismissals of Albanian workers from "Kosova-Eksport" at Kosovo Polje, the "Radushe" enterprise at Istok, the post office at Lipljan, at "Kosovodrvo-Meblo," and at the Dobro Selo open-cast mine, where 150 Albanian workers have been dismissed.

This week was also marked by a new "initiative" of the Serbian "rule of law" in Kosovo. After verbal threats, demands that employment be conditional on the use of Serbia's curriculum, and a wages stop for those who failed to use it, the first suspensions of teachers and Albanian headmasters have recently begun. As in the Orahovac case, some have even been hauled before the magistrates' courts, on the "legal" pretext that their failure to use this curriculum constitutes a "misdemeanor!" Meanwhile, in some schools such as those at Vitomirica, Kosovo Polje, Djurakovac, and elsewhere, suspensions for failure to use the curriculum have begun following "informative discussions;" in some places, such as the Miladin Popovic School in Pristina, teachers have even been dismissed for purchasing school registers published by the Kosovo Institution for Textbooks and Teaching Aids!

Otherwise, the conclusion of the meeting of the SFRY Assembly with the appointment of Stipe Mesic as a new member and deputy president of the SFRY Presidency was welcomed in Kosovo, as was the fact that the national-level constitutional settlement and the new state order will be discussed after the multiparty elections and the constitution of multiparty parliaments in all parts of the country and at federal level.

These views were also put forward at yesterday's Kosovo Democratic Alliance [DSK] news conference, at which Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, president, commenting on the country's current situation and on President Jovic's

report, said that this report was a Bolshevik one which used Kosovo as the joker in the Serbian political pack. In the report, the SFRY Presidency calls for respect for constitutionality, while itself violating this principle thousands of times over. Rugova said that its concept could be considered an expanded version of the Serbian Constitution. This concept, he said, is unacceptable because it is a step backward compared to the SFRY Constitution. Jovic's conception mentions only the republics, and national minorities are shunted into a separate chapter, all supposedly in the name of the Yugoslavia's democratization. We therefore point out to the Presidency, he said, that the Albanians cannot be ignored or excluded from any conception of the future regulation of Yugoslavia, whether as a federation or confederation. European-American opinion believes that the Albanians must also sit down at the discussion table as an equal party in determining Yugoslavia's fate, Rugova said, stressing that democratic forces in Yugoslavia share the same view.

Dr. Ibrahim Rugova then used the news conference to appeal to the Serbs of Kosovo to think with their own heads and in these difficult times to turn toward a life with the majority population of Kosovo, the Albanians, and to democracy and mutual, tolerant dialogue.

Replying to the many questions of journalists, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova welcomed Federal Executive Council [FEC] Deputy President Zivko Pregl's recent statement in Vienna, according to which the Albanians will take part in future political discussions in Yugoslavia, a stand which should be supported by other federal organs; he nevertheless expressed uncertainty whether Pregl's stand was a personal one or that of the FEC. Regarding JEDINSTVO's article alleging criminal proceedings against him, Rugova said that he considered this campaign a police propaganda ploy, similar to that in July this year, when the fiction that Dr. Zekeria Cana had shot at him was concocted. Officially, Rugova said, there is still no news of any "criminal prosecution" against him. Regarding the award given him at Westchester near New York [title of "Freedom-Fighter of the Year"], Rugova said that this is an honor to the DSK and all the Albanian people in Yugoslavia. Commenting on Vuk Draskovic's statement about "sitting down at the discussion table with Tudjman and Rugova himself," Rugova said that he is in favor of all kinds of dialogue, but without conditions. The news conference repeated the DSK's demands for the return of the Kosovo Assembly and Executive Council and of the Albanian-language media, and the release of Zenun Celaj and the delegates and members of the Kosovo Executive Council, because, as was stated, they have committed no crime. Meanwhile, the number of signatures to the petition for Zenun Celaj's release is continually rising and has now reached several thousand.

The Kosovo Writers Association has also recently lodged a protest against the criminal prosecution of its member Agim Mala, and over the Kosovo academics who were to have taken part in the international symposium on the 90th anniversary of the death of Naim Frasheri in Albania on 19-21 October, but were prevented from going because the Pristina internal affairs organs did not give them visas! The group of Albanian academics has also reported this arbitrary behavior to FEC President Ante Markovic.

Meanwhile, among the communes, general support for the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo continues, while the elections for the DSK Assembly are now in their concluding stages.

In Djakovica, after the premiere a few days ago of Gjergj Fishta's "The Highland Lute" by the Dukagjin Alternative Theater from Decani, further performances were forbidden by the militia yesterday evening because, as the actors were told by word of mouth (thus without any kind of written official instruction), performances must be stopped temporarily until the Djakovica public prosecutor reads the text and makes a decision regarding its performance!

Classes and examinations are being conducted normally in all the faculties of Pristina University, except the Medical Faculty, while students have been moving into their dormitories. In the dormitories, 1,691 students have now been housed (945 Albanian-language students and 746 Serbo-Croatian-language students). According to the instructions of the prorector for student affairs, the allocation of students in the dormitories must be completed by 20 October.

It has been reported that Dr. Stanoje Dogandzic, the self-appointed Kosovo education secretary, has sent a threatening letter to Halim Hyseni, director of the Kosovo Institute for the Development of Education, drawing attention to what he calls the "illegitimate" curricula approved by the Kosovo Education Board, on the grounds that the Education Board of Serbia is "the sole competent body" to approve curricula. To heighten the irony, Halim Hyseni is accused of "destroying interethnic relations, intolerance, and sowing possible conflicts on this basis," for which he is threatened with criminal responsibility, if he fails to send Serbo-Croatian translations of the curricula approved in Kosovo, even those of such subjects as Albanian language, history, music, and art to the Education Board of Serbia by 25 October!

It has also been reported that this self-appointed education secretary is determined to pursue to the end his aims of adapting everything to the single Constitution of Serbia, which means that Albanian as a second language will not be a compulsory subject for Serbian and Montenegrin pupils, while Serbo-Croatian will be compulsory for Albanian pupils, who will not receive their end-of-year certificates if they do not study it. The fact is being forgotten that nobody in any Kosovo school is disputing the teaching of Serbo-Croatian as a second language, and that two hours a week are devoted to it in the Kosovo curriculum. It is another matter that Serbian teachers have for the past month been refusing to teach

classes of Albanian, because they are insisting on the Serbian curriculum, which provides an additional hour a week for Serbo- Croatian as a second language!

The affair of the expulsion of the Helsinki Federation delegation led by Christina von Kohl has still not subsided. Von Kohl was arrested in Prizren and barred from entering Yugoslavia for three years. Yesterday, another diplomatic incident occurred between the Serbian militia and the Helsinki Federation. The Serbian militia arrested Bjorn Kato Finemark, a Norwegian activist of the Helsinki Federation, in the morning and held him on the premises of the Secretariat for Internal affairs until afternoon, on the grounds that he was in possession of propaganda material, also depriving him of his passport. On realizing what they had done and who he was, the militia changed their behavior and released him. This police excess will probably be a fresh cause of diplomatic comment and condemnation of such behavior on the part of the Serbian state in Kosovo.

In recent days, Sherif Konjufca and Martin Cuni, two Albanian journalists sentenced eight years ago for "hostile activity from positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism," were released from Nis prison. They had been sentenced to eight and nine years respectively. It has been reported that they have been released one year before the end of their sentences, and have been banned from practicing their profession as journalists for the next three months.

Piljak Views Bosnian Unity, Milosevic, Tudjman

AU2510104590 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Oct 90 p 21

[Unattributed report reprinted from Sarajevo NEDJELJA, date not given: "I Know That They Meet"]

[Text] If Bosnia-Hercegovina is united, and its leadership and people even more, then no one alive can divide it, neither Milosevic, nor Tudjman, nor even a third party. If we in Bosnia-Hercegovina divide ourselves, and I hope that we will not, then anything is possible. This was said by Dr. Obrad Piljak, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, in an interview with the Sarajevo weekly NEDJELJA.

It is certain that attempts will be made from outside to decide on the fate of Bosnia, but in the final analysis, this will nevertheless depend on the people in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Piljak said. If we all, Bosnians and Hercegovinians, are united and firm, then no solutions whatsoever can be imposed on us. And vice versa, if we are not united, then we have not deserved anything else than for others to decide on our destiny, just as this has been done in the past.

We have almost tired of what we are trying to impose as a reasonable solution. However, the other two sides have no reaction either for or against. I must take this opportunity to say that on two occasions—once privately, about 15 days ago, and a second time officially, four to five days ago, in the federal Presidency while considering our orientations to preserve Yugoslavia as a community—I asked for all possible solutions to be put on the table which would ensure that such a community functioned.

I told my comrades, and Slobodan Milosevic and Franjo Tudjman, that as representatives of the two largest republics whose peoples—I mean the Serbs and Croats—live throughout Yugoslavia and in quite large numbers and want to be part of a common state, they must sacrifice something of the interests of their peoples and, if you like, something of their personal vanities and convictions.

Replying to a question on whether Milosevic and Tudjman really care about Bosnia-Hercegovina being a sovereign independent state, Obrad Piljak said, among other things: It does not mean that Milosevic and Tudjman are at the same time the best politicians and that their influence will last for a long time. It seems to me, and I am even convinced of this, that these two are often even concealing something. I do not know whether they meet in secret, but I know that they meet. I have known Slobodan longer than I have known Tudjman, but nevertheless in some situations I am not sure that what he speaks about and what he advocates is also what he believes. The same is true of Tudjman.

I assume that in this respect some trump cards are being banked on which will be pulled from sleeves as the opportune moment arises. However, I think that we have reached the point whereby nothing should be kept secret anymore, and it is time that everyone, including these two who are the most important at the moment, put their cards on the table. Kucan has put his cards on the table, and this approach by Slovenia is already unambiguously clear. Only a miracle could happen for anything essential to change in their stands. I do not believe that they will accept a federation, and as regards the confederal concept, this is not the only alternative for them either. When it comes to Slovenia, perhaps the option on secession is more certain than any other, Obrad Piljak said in an interview to NEDJELJA.

SDS Threatens Boycott of Bosnian Elections

AU2510203290 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] The possibility exists that the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] will boycott the elections in Bosnia-Hercegovina. This was said at a regular news conference in this party's headquarters. Here is a report by Ljubomir Nikolic in Sarajevo:

[Begin Nikolic recording] If, at its last session in its present composition on 30 October, the Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina does not change a constitutional amendment and decide to introduce a people's chamber, conditions will be created for dramatic events to take place in this republic. This was said among other things by Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the SDS of Bosnia-Hercegovina, stressing that because of the

undemocratic conditions of the forthcoming elections, the party's leadership had been under great pressure from its members who were demanding that the elections be boycotted.

[Words indistinct], added Karadzic, that the boycott would be to the advantage of the ruling structure which would thus prolong its rule, but it would be an even worse solution for us to stand at the elections and participate in the funeral of the Serbian people.

According to Karadzic, even though it represents, numerically, the smallest ethnic group in Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Croatian Democratic Community was [word indistinct] in forming its own national council because it seems as if it [word indistinct] for its coalition with the Party of Democratic Action which would have an absolute majority in a future parliament.

This would make it possible for decisions to be made to the detriment of the Serbian people and even for Bosnia-Hercegovina to separate from Yugoslavia. After the elections, the Serbian people will (?make use of) all means, and not only political ones, to defend and secure their equality, Dr. Radovan Karadzic said. [end recording]

Serbian Assembly's Taxation Measures Condemned

LD2510201890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1457 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Oct (TANJUG)—The latest measures taken by the Serbian Assembly are without precedent in modern economic and political history, affirms a statement issued today by the Coordination Committee of the Alliance of Reformist Forces of Yugoslavia [SRSJ] for Serbia.

A federal unit has introduced special custom duties and, in erecting custom barriers, distanced itself from other parts of Yugoslavia and the world—and all to the detriment of the Serbian economy and its citizens. This "economic and customs war" places Serbian authorities, the statement asserts, among separatist forces. Thereby they cede defeat in the struggle for a democratic federation.

The move of the Serbian authorities not only harms citizens but also narrows the scope for competition, which under market conditions is a necessary precondition for efficiency. In doing so they are allowing many branches of economy that are without a future to continue existing, and are thereby hampering the process of restructuring these branches.

According to the leadership of the SRSJ for Serbia, these measures cannot be considered anything but yet "another desperate attempt to remain in power at any cost, not stopping even at making such serious and fateful decisions as breaking up the Yugoslav economic space." The Coordination Committee of the SRSJ for Serbia appeals to delegates of the Serbian Assembly to reconsider and recall this decision, which will inevitably bring about fatal consequences for the Serbian economy and its citizens. By taxing additionally goods from foreign countries and from Slovenia and Croatia, they will not harm these countries nor Slovenia and Croatia—only citizens of Serbia. Hence we call on citizens of Serbia to rise in defense of the reform and its undeniable results, which are brought into question by this decision, the statement concludes.

Parties React to Announced Serbian Import Taxes

LD2610090790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2239 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, October 25 (TANJUG)—The "economic and tariff" war of Serbia places the authorities of this Yugoslav republic among the separatist forces which have admitted defeat in the struggle for a democratic federation, said today's statement of the Serbian branch of the Alliance of Reformist Forces, the party of the federal government.

The measures which the Serbian parliament adopted on Tuesday [23 October] and which introduce special taxes on imported goods and those from the Yugoslav republics of Croatia and Slovenia are only "one more desparate attempt to maintain power at all costs," the Serbian reformists assessed.

The reformists underscored that the measures affect the citizens of Serbia, narrow down competition on the market, and enable the survival of loss-making firms.

They call on Serbian parliament deputies to re-examine their decision and the citizens of Serbia to come to the defense of the reform which these measures have jeopardized.

The Democratic Party of Belgrade, for its part, protested sharply against thee measures at a press conference today and asked that the Serbian parliament revoke them.

The economic renewal of Serbia has thus been turned into "new aggressive taxes on the already completely impoverished population," the Democratic Party said, and assessed that this served to "protect the bad and inefficient policy of the official Serbian authorities."

The Liberal Forum Party of Serbia said today that it did not agree with these measures.

The association for the return of Serbs and Montenegrins to Kosovo, Postobina (homeland), and the coordinating body of all parties of Pristina (Kosovo province) which rally Serbs support the Serbian parliament measures which wre adopted, as said, in order to "prevent that Serbia continue to be made the victim of the various institutional measures of the federal government."

SPO Gives Up Media Time to Serbian Socialists

AU2510103290 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 16 Oct 90 p 4

[M. Nedeljkov report: "Vuk 'Gives Up' the Screen to Sloba"]

[Text] Belgrade—As part of the election campaign and even in line with some new democratic winds, all political parties in Serbia have been given the opportunity to present themselves and their programs to a television audience. However, this sudden "democracy", in the most attractive part of the mass media, boils down to each party having 15 minutes in which to present itself on the third channel of Belgrade Television, which cannot even be seen in all of Serbia.

This "equality" and "openness" were probably also the reason why even the first program did not fulfill expectations. One of the main favorites in the Serbian election race, Vuk Draskovic's Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO], refused to take part in the program even though it was due to be the first party to present itself on 14 October. Instead of this, Borivoje Borojevic, vice president of the party's Executive Committee, sent a letter to Belgrade Television in which he writes among other things: "Since the SPO has not been off television screens for days, years, and decades and since we have bored all and sundry and the Socialist, or rather Communist Party of Serbia has been discriminated against, the SPO has decided to forfeit these 15 minutes and give them to the Socialist Party of Serbia."

This move by the SPO most probably does not mean that Draskovic's movement is also giving up the election race because its promotion is continuing throughout Serbian towns.

"We consider the present elections to be a dress rehearsal for the real ones which will take place in a year or two's time," said Dragan Jovanovic, leader of the Party of Greens and first participant in these interviews (after the SPO stepped down). "Our main aim is to stop the import of dirty technology into Serbia. This is none other than the construction of four thermoelectric power plants in Kosovo using Italian and French capital and a visit by Bogdan Maglic, head of the Serbian lobby in the United States, who has now set up a private corporation for servicing nuclear power plants (under the auspices of 'Westinghouse').... We want to prevent this. What is the point of a nuclear masked ball in Belgrade whose main sponsor is the firm where Slobodan Milosevic's brother works, which is something that we do not consider to be a coincidence!"

The Great Rock and Roll Party [Velika rok end rol stranka] also took part in the first party promotions. Its leader, Savo Neskovic, announced that they do not have any ideological, national, and class symbols, that they copied their programs from others only so that they could register, and they have proposed that the "25 May" memorial center be turned into Disneyland....

Lots were drawn to decide the sequence in which the parties would present themselves to the public up until 2 December and all 36 of the political parties that have registered so far in this republic will take part.

SRJY Becomes 39th Registered Party in Serbia

LD2510190190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1507 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Oct (TANJUG)—A branch of the Yugoslav Alliance of Reformist Forces [SRJY] for Vojvodina has been registered in the Serbian Secretariat for Justice.

This is the 39th party on the list of registered political organizations in Serbia.

U.S. Congressional Aid Amendment Noted

LD2510133590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1236 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Washington, 25 Oct (TANJUG)—The U.N. Congress House of Representatives last night adopted an amendment halting all kinds of U.S. aid to Yugoslavia except to those republics where democratic elections had been held. The amendment to the law on the appropriation of funds for operations abroad was also adopted by the U.S. Senate six days ago. It can, however, go in effect only after being signed by President George Bush.

In a letter to chairman of the Senate committee for the appropriation of funds, Robert Byrd, the State Department expressed "sharp disagreement with the amendment".

The letter says that the amendment is primarily aimed against the Republic of Serbia. The U.S. Government agrees with the views that the "Serbian authorities in Kosovo Province are taking constant repressive measures, which are the essence of the Kosovo problem," but adds that the adoption of the amendment would "affect the situation in Kosovo and Yugoslavia negatively rather than positively".

Yugoslavia is currently receiving no U.S. aid, but if the amendment was adopted the U.S. state bank Exim [Export Import Bank—Eximbank] would have to suspend credits aimed at financing the export of U.S. products to Serbia and U.S. representatives in the World Bank would be obliged to vote against credits aimed at projects in Serbia.

The U.S. Government letter emphasizes that the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank cannot "effectively direct sanctions against Serbia without withdrawing support to the overall Yugoslav economic and political reforms". Multi-party elections have so far been held in two Yugoslav republics—Slovenia and Croatia. The remaining four republics plan to hold them by the end of the year.

Kucan Discusses Visit to Israel With Press

LD2510212590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1648 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 25 Oct (TANJUG)—Milan Kucan, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia, spoke briefly today at a news conference covering his informal, almost private, visit to Israel.

In Israel, among other things, he had a meeting with Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir and with Shimon Peres, leader of the Labor Party, with whom he discussed the prospects for regulating relations between Israel and Yugoslavia and possible economic and cultural cooperation between Slovenia and Israel.

"It was evident that these people are well acquainted with Yugoslavia. They have a special, almost sentimental, attitude toward it and would like us to regulate our own relations within Yugoslavia," Kucan said, and added that Israel is prepared to develop "good relations with all of us."

Slovene Presidency President Milan Kucan said that in Israel he did not discuss the internal relations in that state nor the internal problems in Yugoslavia because, as he said, it would be extremely undiplomatic to resolve one's own problems in a third state and to attempt to influence Yugoslavia's partners in favor of one or another concept of the future order of Yugoslavia.

At the news conference, Kucan emphasized the readiness and interest of Israel in regulating its relations with Yugoslavia and said that his trip with Slovene Cultural Minister Dr. Andrej Capuder and Ljubljana City Assembly president, Joze Strgar, were at the invitation of the organizers of an exhibition in the Museum of Jerusalem, of a Slovene designer, and of Adria Airways.

Secretary Kambovski Meets USSR's Revenko

LD2510211790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1923 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Oct (TANJUG)—The ruling structures in the Yugoslav republics feel threatened by some points of the constitutional and economic reforms, especially the attempts to create an autonomous economic sphere, which unavoidably threatens political monopolies and republican autarchies. That is why these structures are trying to avoid reprivatization of social ownership and are turning it into state property.

This was one of the statements made by Yugoslav Secretary for Legislature and Administration Dr Vlado Kambovski in today's talk with member of the Presidential Council of the Soviet Union Georgiy Revenko.

In the period of transition from the old to the new socio-economic system, inter-ethnic conflicts, stepped-up by the interests of republican oligarchies, have come to the forefront and can threaten the further course of reforms. However, the Yugoslav Government is firmly convinced that reason and wisdom will prevail and enable further democratic processes, Kambovski pointed out.

Revenko came to Yugoslavia to take part in an international conference on democratic processes in multi-ethnic societies which closed in the Croatian seaside town of Cavtat yesterday.